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What the candidate will be wearing this spring

Sen. Estes Kefauver, the coonskin candidate, announced for the Presidency last week. He's shown above with Mrs. K., no slouch in the hat department herself. For an appraisal of Kefauver, see p. 3.

THE DILEMMA PERSISTS

The Jan. 2 French election —and the likely results

By Kumar Goshal

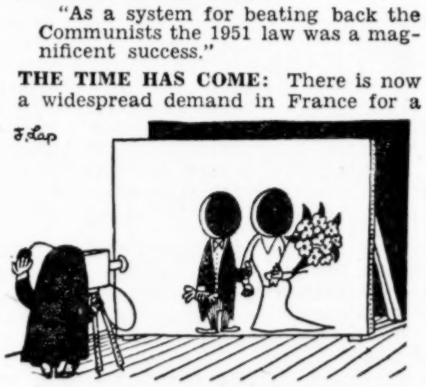
THE JANUARY 2 parliamentary elections seem to promise no solution to France's chronic political dilemma: governments that do not reflect the will of the people.

French political thinking has veered Left, yet France's largest political group, the Communist Party, has no voice in the administration of the country. Rival right-wing groups in the government have united to pass legislation to prevent legitimate CP representation in parliament. In elections they have even joined Socialist Party leaders to defeat the CP.

In June, 1951, for example, the government passed a law making a mockery of the French electoral system based on proportional representation. Under this law, if an alliance of several political parties obtained more than 50% of the total vote cast in an election district, it got all the parliamentary seats from that district. That year incongruous political alliances were hastily formed against the CP and, although the CP got over 27% of the total votes cast—the largest of any political party—it got only 18% of the parliamentary seats. The N. Y. **Times** reflected warmly (10/30):

> "As a system for beating back the Communists the 1951 law was a magnificent success."

THE TIME HAS COME: There is now a widespread demand in France for a popular front including the CP. Maurice Thorez, CP secy. gen., declared his party's willingness



Franc-Tireur, Paris

"Who will be in the election picture?"

> ". . . to get together with the Socialist Party [and] other republicans who are oriented in the same direction . . . to give the nation the government it expects."

The conservative Paris **Figaro's** Raymond Barrillon reported (The **Nation,** 12/3) that non-Marxist progressives, even some Gaullists, felt "the time for systematic anti-communism has passed." He quoted the Gaullist Rene Capitant as saying:

> "The coalition of parties on the Left necessarily includes the CP. . . . We have entered one of those periods where alliance with the Communists is again possible, as in 1936 or 1944."

Socialist Party leaders, however, forbade any election alliance with the CP.

MENDES-FRANCE'S ROLE: The desire for a popular front is strong among ordinary citizens. Premier

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WAR & PEACE

Cold war is on again, Washington proclaims to peace-striving world

By Tabitha Petran

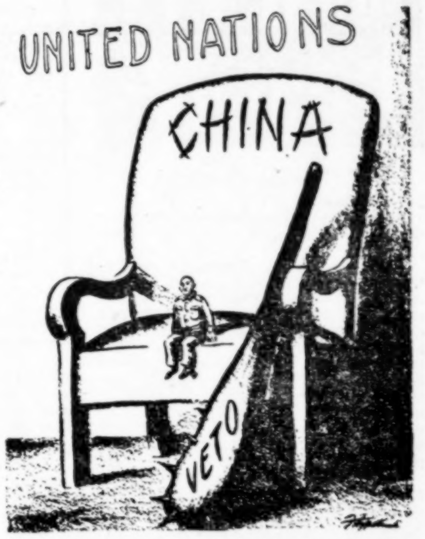
FIVE MONTHS after the Geneva Spirit came into being, Washington officially proclaimed the resumption of the "cold war." It projected increases in military spending at home and abroad, and appeared to have adopted on major issues—without any special prompting—the line of the extreme right wing of the Republican Party.

Behind these efforts to intensify the policy of preparedness for war lies this admitted fact: the West's "policy of strength" has, in the relatively relaxed period since Geneva, proved no match for a Soviet policy whose "strength lies in the people," as Soviet leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin recently declared in India. They said:

> "The people are our main capital. . . . We are building our policy on respect for all peoples, on the premise that all peoples have the right to independent national development in conformity with their own desires and interests."

This socialist policy has taken the initiative in key areas of the world and has posed for Western capitals what the N.Y. **Times** (12/28) called "tremendous problems." The big question, said the **Times,** was: "What counter-measures could the West take against the wide-ranging Soviet challenge?"

KNOW-NOTHINGISM: There was high level talk of the need for "political" and "economic offensives," and Secy. Dulles admitted before the NATO Council in Paris that "military alliances" are not enough. But Washington's counter-measures added up only to an assumption of more rigid positions, new efforts to intensify tensions, and an increasingly "know-nothing" propaganda line.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Generalissimo we unleashed

This was apparent at the NATO deliberations where the 15 foreign ministers lined up behind the uncompromising U. S.-British-French stand at the Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference. The ministers appeared preoccupied with the problems of gearing their military machines to nuclear war. It

(Continued on Page 9)

The other side of Mississippi

DR. Theodore Roosevelt Howard, NAACP leader in Mississippi, last week denied rumors that he plans to leave the state. He told a NAACP rally in Newark, N. J., that he is "No. 1" on a list of Negro leaders to be "liquidated" by terrorists, but said that Mississippi is his home and he doesn't "intend to run away."

He admitted that he has sold some of his property in the state, valued at $200,000, but explained that he thought it unfair to his family—he has two small sons—to leave all his investments in Mississippi because he is "as mortal as the next man":

> "I can be killed as easily as was the Rev. G. W. Lee and other Negro leaders who have given their lives in this struggle for democracy."

THE COMMON TASK: In a telephone interview with the N. Y. **Post** from his home in Mound Bayou he said:

> "It is true that I am leaving here to spend the Christmas holiday with Mrs. Howard and Ronald and Barry in California, but I am coming right back here to continue our fight. Now that I've been elected president of the National Medical Association, it may be necessary for me to spend half my time next year in Washington and New York. But the rest of it will be right here in the Friendship Clinic and with the tasks which face us all. I don't intend to run away. This is my home and I intend to remain here."

He said he still owns "property and other investments valued roughly at around $100,000 here and I have no intention of disposing of it."

DULLES AND EASTLAND: He charged that the White Citizens Councils plan "to force 500,000 Negroes to leave Mississippi within 50 years" and warned that "such a forced migration can become an actuality unless the American people rise to the occasion."

He said he couldn't understand how Secy. of State Dulles "can go about Europe talking about peace and democracy and freedom so long as there is a Mississippi, U. S. A." and he scored Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) for advocating the use of public funds to fight the "monstrous" decision of the Supreme Court ending segregation in the schools:

> "We should join in a national protest and demand that representatives who preach contempt for the Supreme Court be expelled."

Renew now with a pledge for '56

CAN YOU HELP?
RJ

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1956 automatically renews your sub and assures much needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

☐ Here's my Buck of the Month pledge to the Guardian Sustaining Fund for 1956. I understand this covers my renewal.

or:

☐ $........ enclosed to cover my renewal ($3 a year).

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"The real cohesion of a social group lies in this fact: that people like to waste their time together. It is this force that the Communists try to destroy. . . . Man is not a political animal; man is a chatting animal, and a time-waster. The State has no right to waste his time for him. When boredom is official, we have the Marxist State."

—From the Village Voice, Greenwich Village, N. Y. Nov. 16, 1955.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Fred Jerome, N. Y. C. Please send original clipping.

Christmas thought

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

In those words, Jesus characterized for all time the sacred nature of peace. This 1955 year of the Christian Era finds a large group of self-styled civilized countries stubbornly resisting all appeals for the abolition of nuclear weapons, feverishly organizing military alliances on a large scale; fanatically demanding remilitarization of two countries previously notorious for their passion for waging war: Germany and Japan.

Worship of God by profession but serving Mammon and wars remain abhorrent traits in the conduct of Christian nations. **A. Garcia Diaz**

Xmas greeting

DETROIT, MICH.

Without the GUARDIAN I (perhaps many of us) would be prostrate to the myths, falsehoods, illogical reasoning and unprinted truths of our so-called "free press." Thanks for a tremendous job well done. A Merry Christmas to you all. **Pat O'Malley**

Dynamitre

FLUSHING, N. Y.

If I understood Bishop Sheen on TV tonight correctly he said that the use of the atomic bomb could not be justified even in self-defense. This could be dynamite! **Ray Scott**

Not dead, just Dulled

PIERPONT, S. D.

The stand taken by Dulles at Geneva was not only contrary to the agreement made at the Summit meeting that differences should be settled by negotiation instead of force, but it was also contrary to the agreements at Yalta and Potsdam that Germany be demilitarized, de-nazified and democratized. Dulles' plan would speed the revival of Nazism and the danger of another world war. But the spirit of Geneva born at the historic Summit conference is by no means dead. It came about because of the people's irresistible demand for peace and it cannot be killed.

E. L. Bolland

Heart to heart

BRONX, N. Y.

I want to thank you and your readers for your support of my appeal for parole for my husband, Jacob Mindel, 74 years of age, ill with progressive heart disease, and complicated chronic stomach disease,now serving a two-year sentence under the Smith Act.

I had hoped that when my husband became eligible for parole on Sept. 2, 1955, having served one-third of his sentence, he would be freed. But neither age nor illness moved the Parole Board.

There has been no case in which prisoners convicted under the Smith Act have been granted parole. I am sure that the American people do not agree that there should be special discrimination in the matter of parole against those convicted for their ideas, especially in the case of a man 74 in such ill health as my husband.

At my husband's age and his condition of health, his two-year term is in reality a life term, a cruel and unusual punishment which the 8th Amendment to the Constitution forbids.

I urge with all my heart that you print this letter and that your readers write to President Eisenhower, the White House, Washington, D. C., urging him in the spirit of Christmas to restore freedom to my husband.

I would very much appreciate receiving copies of the letters written by your readers.

Mrs. Jacob Mindel
2854 Bronx Park East
Bronx 67, N. Y.

Merchants of what?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Asst. Secy. of State Allen states that the U.S. sold, in the past four years, about $1,000,000 worth of arms to each side in the present Egypt-Israel dispute.

Since military aid was launched in Oct. 1949, shipments all over by the U.S.A. (through June 30, 1956) will amount to $18,000,000,000. Through Dec. 1954, the following among other items had been shipped: 868 naval vessels; 6,416 aircraft; 36,538 artillery pieces; 36,714 tanks and combat vehicles; 146,644 radios, radar, electronics; 206,836 transport vehicles; 2,200,000 small arms and machine guns; 50,000,000 rounds of ammunition for artillery; 1,600,000,000 rounds for small arms and machine guns (President's **Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program**, for the six months ended Dec. 31, 1954).

According to Mr. Allen, we are "not merchants of death."

Albert Bofman

An apology

JAMAICA, N. Y.

It was with some indignation that I note your willingness to reprint the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** cartoon poking fun at the school building program and the work of our present schools.

This kind of attack against public education is more in keeping with the Mervin K. Hart and the **Herald Tribune** type of thinking, than with that of the GUARDIAN.

It is certainly poor taste and poor social judgment, even in jest, to imply that our teachers, struggling against over-crowded conditions and the enemies of modern methods in education, are not doing a good job.

I'm one teacher who would like a GUARDIAN apology. **"Ped-Agog."**

The cartoon showed a man and wife passing a school construction site with two children—one blowing bubble gum, the other playing with a yo-yo. The caption read: "Instead of building new schools, why don't they just teach something in the ones we now have." On second sight, we think "Ped-Agog" has an excellent point. Apology herewith offered to all pedagogues of good will.—Ed.

Crooked mice

MANITOWOC, WISC.

Your "Parable for Liberals" was very enlightening but didn't go far enough.

If mice had a capitalistic money system they could elect to office all the honest mice they could get hold of and when they got in, big money would make them so crooked they couldn't lie straight in bed. We have to change to crime-proof money so as to make it impossible to bribe. Then and only then will we have honesty in government, and that goes for any party, regardless of what you name it or what class of people is back of it.

Ernst Swenson

Touring Senator

BOISE, IDAHO

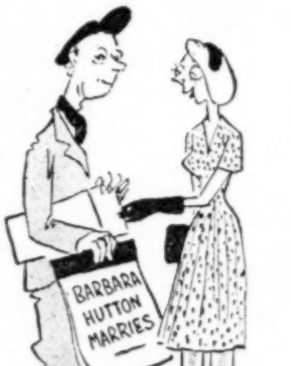
Sen. Henry Dworshak (R-Ida.) spoke and answered questions for a full hour and a half on his "Impressions of Russia and the Russian People" at the Boise Junior College recently.

Never once did he belittle what he saw on farm, in factory or industry but seemed to marvel at the developments made in a country free from indebtedness. He commented on education, both elementary and academic. He said the government was stressing the sciences. Words were not spared as he described a state fair with its buildings.

With four other Senators he met with Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin for two hours. Sen. Malone (D-Nev.) said that they had seen Moscow but nothing east of the Urals. The Soviet leaders laughed: "Sen. Malone knows Columbus discovered America and now he thinks he is going to discover the Soviet Union." The next morning Malone found himself going to Siberia.

It was a real pleasure to have Sen. Dworshak corroborate the many ideas that I have gleaned from reading the GUARDIAN and **New World Review**. Perhaps he would like to subscribe and continue to keep reliably posted.

A. R. Thomas



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Oh what bliss that the papers are back to normal once again!"

Michiana at work

SOUTH HAVEN &
BENTON HARBOR, MICH.

Our second Michiana GUARDIAN meeting drew an enthusiastic group of friends from the environs of Grand Rapids, South Haven, Benton Harbor, South Bend and Elkhart. We elected a chairman and secretary who, with the current committee, hope in time to have functioning groups in each of these communities.

Showed the film **Salt of the Earth**, due to the generosity of the UE District 9, which had obtained the film from Mine, Mill (Morris Wright, IUMMSW, 412 Tabor Bldg., Denver 2, Colo.) and who arranged bookings in this area for the various UE Locals. The impact of the film is tremendous in its clear message of racial and religious unity, and provided inspiration for all.

We had a delightful time (really!) raising funds to defray expenses through conducting an old fashioned country auction. We agreed to contribute the proceeds equally to the GUARDIAN and to the IMMSWU, whose leader, Clint Jencks (one of those appearing in the film), is currently under Taft-Hartley indictment and whose case is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

If you have any ideas, or tips you may think helpful to our growth and that of the paper, we should be glad to hear from you or any of the readers.

Michiana Guardian Committee

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the progressive newsweekly

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> *"If we contrast the rapid progress of mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind."*
>
> —*GIBBON*, Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire.

REPORT TO READERS

Peace & vigilance

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER calls this Christmas "brighter in its background and its promise for the future than any we have known in recent years." That he is right—even despite Mr. Dulles' global gallivanting to keep things hotted up—should be a matter of abiding satisfaction to you and yours.

The ceaseless toiling of American progressives for peace on earth during all the years of Cold War has prevented the war forces from making our country completely jingoistic. Without this basic accomplishment, surviving the white heat of the Korean War, the cease-fire there might never have been sounded and indeed we might have been involved in a new World War kindled on the mainland of Asia.

Instead, we have had the Geneva "summit" conference, the UN has taken a giant step toward the principle of universality in membership, and a cultural and trade exchange has begun between two worlds which is not likely to be halted if public opinion has its way.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE, of course, is the condition on which the hope of lasting peace rests—as it is for man's liberty, too. The forces seeking to scuttle the peace and jettison freedoms are unsleeping, and are by no means cornered. This is why the GUARDIAN has counseled the preservation of watchful independence by the American progressives who have been at the core of the victories for peace and against repression in the last two years.

The '54 Congressional swing to the Democrats was interpreted in many quarters as a rebuke to McCarthyism. True, it headed McCarthy for the showers and knocked Jenner off his perch, too, as the head of the main witch-hunt committee of Congress. But the Jenner committee continues, with Jenner in a back seat and the controls in the hands of the racist Dixiecrat Eastland of Mississippi. And the Eastland committee's first target is the press which has been critical of the witch-hunt.

A MONUMENTAL JOB of enforcing democracy in the U.S. lies ahead for the American voter, but again the stimulus must come from that same hard core of American progressives who have turned the nation against war and fascism in the last decade.

Similarly in the press, the pioneering must come from papers like the GUARDIAN (which are far too few!) How we must undertake this will be presented in a series by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and others beginning in January.

CAN WE COUNT ON YOU to stand behind your press in the months ahead? One way to answer is to look right now at the address-plate by which you received this paper—on the wrapper or outside on Page 1.

If it is printed in red ink, it means your renewal is due—and there could be no more welcome seasonal greeting than to have your renewal by return mail. For the past two years, many GUARDIAN readers have pitched in generously to help us fight for our editor's right to stay in this country, despite his and our dissents from the way things are run. In fighting that fight as far as it could be fought with a reasonable chance of winning, other obligations have accumulated which require a round of help. We look to a boost at this holiday time, if you can afford it, and as usual we'll make it as easy as pie to help, via a letter you should receive with your New Year's cards.

EASTLAND, whom we mentioned above, has now picked up where McCarthy left off attacking the GUARDIAN. The two remaining founders of the paper, Aronson and McManus, appeared in closed session (GUARDIAN, Dec. 19) and have been kept under continuing subpena presumably for public sessions of the Eastland committee, scheduled to start Jan. 4.

It is clearly the Senator's aim to assure the GUARDIAN a rousing New Year, and we shall do our best to return the compliment. We'll keep you posted—if it turns out to be anybody's fight, you're invited in.

Meanwhile, as we've tried to say above: Peace, and keep your powder dry.

—THE GUARDIAN

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS FOR 1956—III

Estes Kefauver: Coon-skin crime-buster with an ambition

By Elmer Bendiner

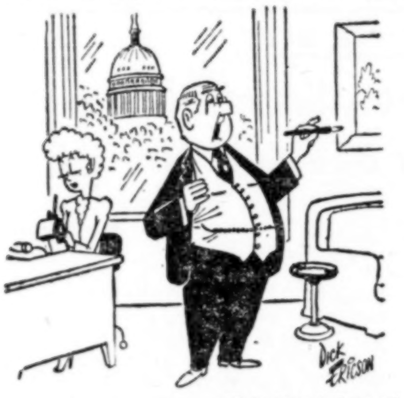
ON A HOT JULY NIGHT in 1952 the Chicago Stockyards Auditorium was in a tumult. Democratic Party convention delegates were still waving coon-skin caps, unaware that the fix was in. From the start there had been no doubt that Estes Kefauver of Tennessee was the grass-roots favorite. The first ballot gave him 340 votes, the second, 362½. On the third ballot he was still leading with 279½.

But a coalition of Dixiecrats and Northern bosses had picked their man; Adlai Stevenson. Kefauver won on the convention floor but lost where it counted most, in the hotel rooms. He tried to reach the microphone, if only to concede but, as Robert Spivack reported in the N. Y. **Post**,

> "The beaten candidate was half-led, half-shoved to the rear of the platform."

In the weeks preceding the convention delegates reported offers of $500 to $1,000 a head for delegates to swing from Kefauver. The Democratic Natl. Committee reportedly spent $40,000 to stop him. The surprise of that stockyards performance was that so many delegates stayed with Kefauver against what he called the "dictatorial and selfish political machines."

THE COON-SKIN HAT: His early career contrasts nicely with the plush beginnings of his rivals, Stevenson and Harriman. He worked his way through the University of Tennessee and Yale Law School, practiced law quietly in Chattanooga and went to Congress in 1940. He had a folksy drawl and an easy campaign hand-shake. Neither these nor his somewhat spotty voting record gave him as much popular appeal as the enemies he made. In 1948, when he defied the formidable state machine to run for the Senate, Boss Crump denounced him, called him a "'coon." The lanky Kefauver reached over, put a coon-skin cap on his head and has used it ever after as his badge of independence.



Wall Street Journal

"That gives me a good speech for the businessman, and a good one for the farmer . . . now what I need is one for the businessman who owns a farm."

He made his biggest enemies when he entered national politics as chairman of the State Crime Commission. Under TV klieg lights he appeared in millions of homes as a crime-buster. His performance was characteristic. He went far enough to earn the enmity of some mighty political forces, but stopped short of any fundamental expose of the tie between crime and politics. He back-tracked and occasionally white-washed a machine. Still he had embarrassed the Democratic Party in New York and Chicago, and was generally blamed for the defeat of Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas in Illinois. The party brass never forgave him. Lucas has since walked out of banquets when Kefauver appeared and Harry Truman, for whom machine loyalty is above all political principle, has waged a fierce, unyielding vendetta.

TOWARD THE LIGHT: The brass has pursued Kefauver not only in campaigns but in the Senate as well in a maximum effort to keep him out of the spotlight. Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson reportedly told Harley Kilgore (D-W. Va.) that, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he must see that Kefauver was not picked to head the investigation of monopolies—or Kilgore's committee would find itself short of funds. When Kefauver, working relentlessly toward the limelight, began his investigation of the Dixon-Yates power steal, Kilgore at first ordered him to confine the probe to two days; only later was he forced to loosen the reins on him.

Kefauver has seen himself primarily as a crime-buster. A teetotaler himself, he brandishes the sword for personal righteousness. Last November he told a rally of party workers in Ohio: "We cannot tolerate tarnished crusaders."

In 1947 he wrote a book, **A Twentieth Century Congress**, in which he skimmed the political scene with a whisk broom, prescribing Congressional "streamlining" and "supervision" of lobbyists as remedies. He seems beyond his depth on other issues. He went along with the Truman Doctrine whole-heartedly.

During the Korean War, he plumped for "hot pursuit" by our Air Force across the Yalu and the bombing of Manchuria. He called for an ultimatum and then a "showdown." Though he opposed war over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, he thought it our "legal and moral duty as well as right" to defend Formosa against the Chinese. In 1952 he favored keeping U. S. troops in Europe to prevent "Communist aggression."

ON THE T-H ACT: On the home front, he fought against "socialized medicine" and favored leaving the nation's health in the hands of state medical societies. In U. S. **News** (4/4/52) he said he would not favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, though he would amend it:

> "I think it was gotten up in a spirit of vengeance to penalize labor but I think some corrective legislation was necessary and I think thoughtful leaders recognize it."

Though his stand on T-H was better than most Democratic candidates, outside of California he won little backing from labor leaders.

He opposed the bill to outlaw the Communist Party in 1954 but explained it was because this

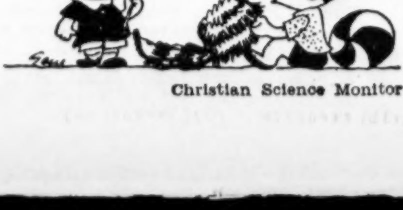
> ". . . would confuse the operation of the Smith Act, which I supported and voted for as a House member and . . . [because] it would nullify the registration provision of the Internal Security Act."

He voted for the Communist Control Act because

> ". . . I have now been assured that this will not adversely affect prosecutions under the Smith Act or adversely affect the Internal Security Act."

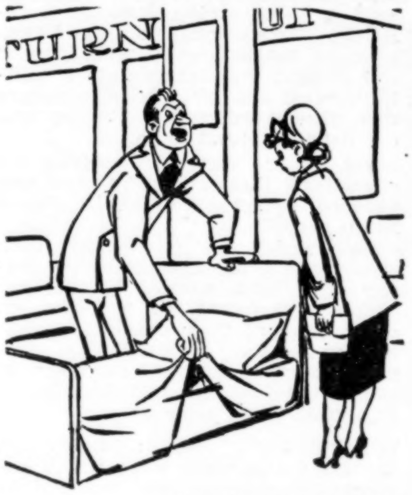
As a candidate in 1952 he vowed to continue Truman's "loyalty" program, but he forcefully assailed the "McCarthy issue" in and out of the Senate.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS: Kefauver's stand on civil rights has bewildered all camps. He resolutely opposed the poll tax but otherwise sought to conciliate Southerners, Northerners, liberals and Dixiecrats, earning the cordial mistrust of all. In the 1949 push to end the Southern filibuster as a device to forestall discussion of civil rights legislation, Kefauver danced on all sides of the question. On March 11 he voted to uphold a ruling that would have limited the filibuster, assuring his Southern colleagues that, although he was "as much opposed to some of the civil rights measures" as they were, there might be other issues which could invite a filibuster. Six days later he whipped around and voted for stronger protection of the right to talk a bill to death.


I'M TIRED OF GOOD OL' DAVY—
LETS PLAY ESTES FOR AWHILE.

Christian Science Monitor

Throughout his 1952 campaign for the Presidential nomination he called for an end to jimcrow, but only by "voluntary" and "persuasive" means, opposed a compulsory FEPC or any effort to enforce civil rights legislation. Characteristically he watered down that stand to say that if the Democratic Party came out for such a measure or if Congress passed it, he would feel obliged to go along. Again Kefauver stood squarely between two camps.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Here's a bed without legs especially made for people who are afraid of reds under their beds."

THE HESITANT PERIOD: His defeat at the Chicago stockyards seemed to have broken him; but by 1954 he was in fighting trim again. In the primary campaign Rep. Pat Sutton threw everything he had at Kefauver. He toured the state in a helicopter, dropping down on rural pastures for fiery rallies. In radio talkathons he lambasted Kefauver as a "Communist sympathizer" because he had supported the UN. Kefauver took all but a handful of the state's counties, easily swamping his rival 169,927 to 68,731.

Still he seemed coy about running for President again. He had reportedly gone into hock for $36,000 during the 1952 try. Last month, while supporters were already passing out coon-skin caps, Kefauver confided to a newsman:

> "I've bled all my friends white and you can only do that so often."

He told the Alsop brothers (11/4):

> "Although I believe I can win in the primaries, it's a man-killing job to try for a nomination by the primary route. There were days last time when I just didn't think I could last out until Chicago. And that's why I want to be pretty sure some one isn't going to come along and pick up the prize I've fought to win in the primaries."

WHY HE WANTS IT: The Harriman-Stevenson contest seemed to give Kefauver's worst fears some foundation. Harriman's prime backer, Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio, was known to be delighted at the prospects of Kefauver whittling down Stevenson in the California and Florida primaries while Harriman waited in the wings. Doris Fleeson in the N. Y. **Post** (10/18) said: "There has even been a rumor that Harriman backers were putting up money for Kefauver."

Political observers had little doubt all along that Kefauver would run. He has an abiding personal ambition for the White House, to which he confessed in the U. S. **News** in 1952:

> "If you want to know why I am running for President I feel that of course every American boy wants to run."

This year's Kefauver shows a decided maturity over 1952's, however. Though he still hopes to run on the issues of **Dixon-Yates**, crime and the "give-away" of natural resources, he has plainly given foreign policy a closer look.

Ever rearward with the AMA

BOSTON, Nov. 30.—A pipesmoking physician from Mt. Carmel, Pa., who thinks wonder drugs are more dangerous than tobacco was named family doctor of the year yesterday by his colleagues of the American Medical Assn.

Dr. E. Roger Samuel, 66, was chosen for the 1956 award by the AMA's House of Delegates and received it from Dr. Gunnar Gunderson of La Crosse, Wis., chairman of the association's trustees.

—**UP** dispatch in the N. Y.
World-Telegram & Sun, Nov. 30

ON FOSTER DULLES: Last April he forecast Geneva when he wrote in **The Nation:**

> "It is time we started talking, for a change, about peace. We should put in a deep, dark closet all Secy. Dulles' bellicosity. I am encouraged that, at last, exploratory talks looking toward a meeting of the great powers have begun. At that meeting, if it takes place, the discussions will doubtless not be as free and as frank as they might have been before Secy. Dulles began the era of kiss-and-tell diplomacy; but we ought to talk about peace whenever we get the occasion."

On the other hand, when he returned in October from an extensive tour of socialist Europe he telephoned Truman to "tell him of the great esteem in which he and his foreign policies [cold war] are held."

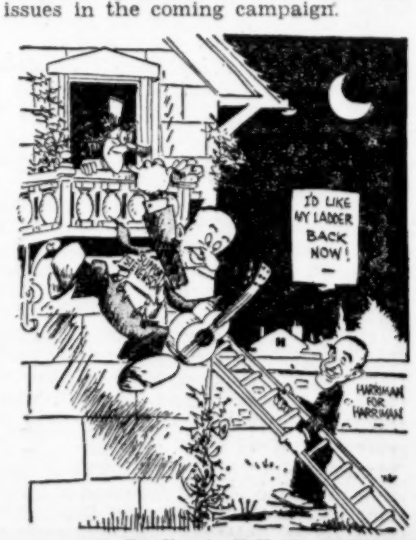
ON THE TILL CASE: Last week when Kefauver formally announced his bid for the nomination he took a stand from which it may be hard to retreat. He became the first avowed Democratic candidate (doubly significant because he is a Southerner) to speak out forcefully on the murder of Emmett Till and the Supreme Court desegregation ruling. On the Till case he said:

> "It was a horrible and terrible murder of this boy, and it's a terrible thing that nobody has been brought to account for it. Nobody knows all the facts, certainly I don't, but I think that mob action should be made a violation of the criminal code."

On desegregation he said:

> "The Supreme Court decision is the law of the land. It is high time that the people of both races should get together to work out ways of implementing the Supreme Court decision."

It is too soon to say whether Kefauver is a stalking horse for Harriman or a legitimate grass-roots rebel against the party machine. In any case the country would seem to need him not so much as a President but as a maverick who can raise the dust which otherwise promises to settle over the issues in the coming campaign.


I'D LIKE MY LADDER BACK NOW!
HARRIMAN FOR HARRIMAN

Dowling in N. Y. Herald Tribune

EVERY MAN FOR HIMSELF

A COMMONWEALTH—OR AN AMERICAN COLONY?

Puerto Rico's incredible Smith Act trial

By Pablo Garcia

The author is a civil rights attorney in Puerto Rico, graduate of Harvard College and the Harvard Law School, member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Communist Party and one of 11 persons soon to be tried in San Juan under the Smith Act. Ed.

THE SMITH ACT is being applied for the first time to Puerto Rico. On Oct. 20, 1954, the FBI arrested 11 men and women, nine of them in Puerto Rico, one in New York, and arranged the kidnaping of another from Mexico. They are all accused of "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government of the U. S. by force and violence" and will be tried in the U. S. Federal District Court for Puerto Rico at San Juan, perhaps within the next month or two.

The people of Puerto Rico have developed their struggle for national independence, for peace and for better conditions of living in recent years. Their national consciousness is rising and will continue to rise.

To thwart this spirit, which would greatly and adversely affect the economic interest of U. S. monopolies there, the government of the U. S. and its agents in Puerto Rico have developed two methods of action: deceit and repression.

IS PR A COLONY? The deceit is aimed at confusing public opinion in Puerto Rico, the U. S. and all over the world by pretending that Puerto Rico is no longer a colony. The U. S. has declared in the UN and elsewhere that Puerto Rico has ceased to be "a non-self-governing territory." We are called a "Commonwealth." But the Smith Act is enforced in our country and so is the Taft-Hartley Act. (Washington has made an exception and does not enforce the minimum wage for our people.)

A RISING CONSCIOUSNESS

The poverty of the people is shown in this photo of the 16-year-old wife of a sugar worker on a farm near Lajas, P. R.

If it is argued that Puerto Ricans have of their own will surrendered their rights to Washington, we shall disprove that in this trial and maintain that no people can ever be said legally to surrender their basic liberties.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE: The repression in Puerto Rico is aimed at creating fear and hysteria, dividing those who struggle for national independence and putting out of circulation many people devoted to our people's freedom.

For many years, Puerto Ricans have been the victims of force and violence. The people have suffered exploitation that permitted a powerful group to live in luxury. Young students saw themselves compelled to do their studies in a foreign language. Our youth found itself ordered, under the threat of jail, to go to war against the Korean people who had never caused them any harm and who were only struggling for their own national independence. Our workers saw their labor organizations divided and were forced to obey such anti-democratic laws as Taft-Hartley. Our national flag was looked upon as the banner of "subversives." Our country was turned into a military, naval and air base. Our culture was disregarded and minimized and our patriots all but forgotten.

Yet, no one was ever convicted for committing these crimes of force and violence against the whole Puerto Rican people.

But, because our people have been clearly and firmly demanding the correction of these wrongs, because our people have forced our oppressors to grant some of their demands, it has become necessary for the U. S. government and the interests it represents to stop a trend which could take Puerto Rico from under their wing.

POLITICAL PRISONERS: The wrongs, the force and violence of which the Puerto Rican people have been victims for over 50 years, have led a sector of honest and self-sacrificing individuals, the Nationalists, into desperation.

Lacking a theory with which to guide their day-to-day political activity, they were provoked into terrorist activities. These were used as stepping stones to persecute other Puerto Rican patriots.

Nearly 100 Puerto Rican political prisoners are buried alive in Puerto Rican prisons, serving time ranging from 10 years to life imprisonment, while 50 others are held in U. S. Federal prisons. It is evident that while one must condemn the Nationalists' acts of force and violence, one must not forget that the main responsibility lies in the colonial system itself, imposed by the great North American interests and the government of the U. S.

In 1950, thousands of Independentists, Nationalists and Communists were arrested. In 1954, when the shooting in Congress took place, again the authorities arrested many Communists, trying to connect them with the unfortunate events. The people refused to believe any such lie. They knew the Communists do not believe in force and violence and that the Communists have never engaged in such acts even when force and violence were used against them. The protests of people in Puerto Rico and of many others all over the world had their effect. The Communists were released. The Puerto Rican government was unable to comply with U. S. orders to use the affair in Congress as a pretext for jailing Communists under Gag Law 53, the Puerto Rican counterpart of the Smith Act.

NO REPRESENTATION: The U. S. government then decided to do directly what it had failed to do indirectly. It used the Smith Act. Thus, though Puerto Rico is said to be a "Commonwealth," 11 defendants are to be tried for an alleged violation of a law approved by a Congress in which the Puerto Rican people are not represented.

They will be tried in a court whose functionaries are appointed by the President of the U. S. with the consent of the Senate. In neither the Executive nor the Legislative branches of the U. S. government do the Puerto Rican people have any participation. The trial will be conducted in English, although Spanish is used in local courts in Puerto Rico, the legislature and the day-to-day work in all spheres of life.

Many of the accused—among them Juan Santos Rivera and Ramon Mirabal, president and secy. gen., respectively, of the Puerto Rican CP, do not know a word of English. They will not be able to confront their accusers. The prosecution, the witnesses, the defense attorneys and the judge will each have his say in English, while the accused stand there wondering what lies are being said about them and knowing that they personally cannot answer back.

If convicted and sentenced to more than one year in jail, the accused will also be sent to prisons in the U. S., unable to see their families.

IN STREETS TOO: The struggle will be carried out in the court, where the U. S. government will confront itself with its own contradictions.

The struggle will also be carried out in the streets of the cities, in the sugar fields and factories, in the tobacco and coffee plantations, where, as far as we can, we will bring the true facts of the prosecution developed against us, while we continue to struggle for the day-to-day demands of our people.

There are great possibilities of beating the persecution in the Puerto Rican Smith Act Case.

In that connection we must rally supporters at home and in the U. S. among those who are for freedom and justice, however they may disagree with the defendants politically. The Smith Act has shocked many people in the U. S. The continued colonial domination by the U. S. of Puerto Rico—and the application of the Smith Act there—must shock many more.

PABLO GARCIA

The spirit will not be thwarted

Our freedom is surely our cause; but it can be no less the cause of the people of the U. S., in whose name legislators and judges act when they suppress our freedom.

WON'T RIDE TILL DEMANDS ARE MET

5,000 Negroes boycott jimcrow buses in Montgomery after woman is arrested

By Eugene Gordon

A MEETING called in the Montgomery, Ala., Holt St. Baptist Church on the night of Dec. 5 honored a Negro woman and a Negro youth who had been arrested as "lawbreakers" and developed a fight-back program almost unprecedented in the South. The "5,000 hymn-singing Negroes" who packed the church, spilled over three streets and blocked traffic, according to the Montgomery **Advertiser** (12/6), "stood, applauding loud" as the Rev. J. R. King introduced Mrs. Rosa Parks, 42, and Fred Daniel, 19.

Mrs. Parks, seamstress, was convicted and fined for violating a city jimcrow law in refusing to move from the "white" section of a city bus. Pending appeal, she was released in $100 bond in custody of her lawyer. The charge against Daniel was that he had "grabbed a Negro woman by the arm . . . and pulled her away from a City Lines bus she was attempting to board." Daniel convinced the court that he had merely persuaded an elderly woman not to ride. His case was dismissed.

TREATED "LIKE DOGS": The church meeting was sponsored by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. Rev. King, one of its leaders, said:

> "We're tired of being humiliated by bus drivers. They talk to us as if we were dogs, ordering us to get out of our seats and give them to white passengers. Even other white passengers are not above saying: 'Nigger, get up and out of that seat.'"

City Lines manager J. H. Bagley, meanwhile, was spreading rumors of buses fired on in the dark while passing through the Negro areas; he said he would never violate the jimcrow law. The city ordinance makes it "unlawful for any passenger to refuse or fail to take those seats assigned the race to which he belongs" and empowers bus drivers to go armed and to act as policemen. Last March Claudette Colvin, 15, was manhandled by a Montgomery policeman and a bus driver for an action similar to Mrs. Parks'.

The **Advertiser** said the meeting adopted a resolution declaring that the citizens of Montgomery

> ". . . have been intimidated, embarrassed and coerced while riding the public conveyances and, in view of the humiliation they have endured, they agreed that they would refrain from using the buses."

AMERICANS IN ACTION: The resolution also declared that a delegation of citizens was prepared at any time to sit down with bus-line officials to work out a program "that the patrons would find satisfactory and equitable."

A speaker noted that the Negro bus riders' intent to boycott the line had been likened to the White Citizens Councils' economic squeeze on the Negro community. He called the comparison "ridiculous," adding:

> "It is not like the Ku Klux Klan, either, in going to our homes and taking men out and lynching them. It is not terrorism but democracy, a protest, by Americans, in action."

Meeting subsequently with bus-line officials, the Negro citizens demanded that

- Drivers show more courtesy toward the Negro rider.
- Seating be arranged on a first-come-first-served basis.
- The company hire Negro bus drivers.

CHICAGO-OWNED: The company insisted its drivers were always courteous; it could do nothing on the second without a change in the law; on the third: "We have no intention of ever hiring Negro bus drivers." The Montgomery line is owned by a Chicago company.

Rev. King replied:

> "We have no intention of riding their buses until our demands are met. We are not going to give them our dimes to be insulted and humiliated."

A private car pool of 200 is supplemented by 108 cabs and eight filling stations to support the boycott. The stations give special discounts to car owners transporting participants in the movement. About 45% of Montgomery's 106,525 population is Negro. Their principal occupation is working as domestics. Rev. King, interviewed by the Negro press, exclaimed:

> "The Negro citizens in this town have united as they have never done before. I have never seen anything like it!"

Owen Lattimore speaks out on 'Fear and Foreign Policy'

At a hugely successful dinner-meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at the Hotel Capitol Dec. 15—commemorating the 164th anniversary of the signing of the Bill of Rights—more than 1,000 New Yorkers heard an absorbing address by Owen Lattimore on "Fear and Foreign Policy." Lattimore, professor at Johns Hopkins University and former adviser to the State Dept. on Far Eastern affairs, came under attack in 1950 for his connections with the Institute for Pacific Relations. Until the case was finally thrown out of court by Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl this year, Lattimore was under indictment for perjury for denying charges of Communist sympathies testified to by the informer Louis Budenz. The GUARDIAN herewith reprints major excerpts from his address as a public service. The address in full may be obtained by writing to the ECLC, 421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N. Y.

IN 1944 MR. JOHN P. DAVIES was regarded as a brilliant and rapidly rising young officer in the Foreign Service of the State Dept. He was at that time attached as a political liaison officer to Gen. Stilwell's headquarters in China, and one of his duties was to write political analyses. In one such analysis he dealt with the possibilities of civil war in China at the end of the war with Japan. His thesis was that in such a war the Communists would win, partly because they already had an effective army and a strong territorial base, partly because they were, at that time, going a long way toward meeting the ordinary wishes of ordinary people. Most important of all, he diagnosed the Kuomintang, the party of Chiang Kai-shek, as far gone in corruption, and counting on military force to suppress popular resistance. But Chiang's troops, said Mr. Davies, were also far gone. He predicted that China's destiny lay with the Communists, not with Chiang.

Another thesis of John Davies was that American policy should be flexible enough to deal with the emergence of a Communist China, because the only way to prevent such a China from becoming purely an instrument of Russian policy would be to convince the Chinese that they could deal with America and that it would be to their advantage to do so. He was in fact talking about the possibility of policies for dealing with Titoism, long before the political phenomenon of Titoism had startled the world.

Willingness to do some fresh thinking about various aspects of Communism and even to experiment with novel policies was internationally widespread in the rapidly changing conditions created by the ending of the war; but only in the U.S. did it ruin the careers of men whose professional duty it was to keep abreast of changing conditions and to keep all possible policy alternatives under review.

My point is that one may agree with or disagree with a particular analysis by a foreign service officer, either at the time or later, with the advantage of hindsight. I would not myself agree or disagree with equal certainty to all the points or suggestions made by Mr. Davies in the various excerpts of his despatches that have been published. But I think that an officer who has that kind of job should be praised and encouraged, and not wantonly exposed to "loyalty-security" attack for ceaselessly investigating and searching for new clues to old and tangled problems. Note moreover that in this particular despatch Mr. Davies made an accurate prediction. Defenders of civil liberty often appeal for tolerance on the ground that a man has "the right to be wrong." But Mr. Davies was ruined because he had been right.

OUR GOVERNMENT thus lost a valuable servant. It had previously lost a lot of others. Its panel of trained, professional experts on China has been virtually destroyed. The effect of this kind of surrender to fear in the handling of foreign policy goes far beyond the immediate victims. A letter to the **N. Y. Times** of Dec. 4 from Mr. Perry Laukhoff, formerly director of the Office of German Affairs (not China Affairs!) of the State Dept., puts it very well:

> "Thoughtful and inspired men whose ideas the country needs desperately at a time when our world position is deteriorating have been driven out of the Foreign Service by scores. Those who are left . . . are, and must be, in the mass less bold, less imaginative, more conformist and more beaten down spiritually by three years of clear demonstration that they are at the mercy of unrestrained and ruthless secret political power."

The retreat of the State Dept. from a professional defense of the professional standards of its own personnel has been a bi-partisan disgrace. It was begun in Mr. Truman's administration by Mr. Acheson, who has since had the courage to admit that he was partly responsible for the original Truman loyalty order, and that it was a "grave mistake." But the practice of throwing State Dept. personnel over the tail of the sled to appease the pursuing wolves has continued under the Republicans. The final poltroonery of the bumping off of Mr. Davies was Mr. Dulles's.

As a result we now have, I make bold to say, the weakest foreign service of any great country in dealing with problems of Asia, and especially China. I think it can be said in the most matter-of-fact way possible that today, for a man to hold a high American position dealing with Asia, and especially with China, it is of quite secondary importance whether he knows anything about the Far East, and of absolutely primary importance that he should be politically acceptable, not simply to the Republican Party, but to the extreme right wing, the Formosa-first wing of that party. And this, if the position is important enough, means that he must also be acceptable to a foreign government, that of Formosa, out of fear that if he is not, he will be sniped off his perch.

THIS KIND OF FEAR in foreign policy results inevitably in devious maneuvers and fatal hesitations. Let me illustrate. A few days ago Mr. Walter Lippmann, one of the few today who are not afraid to call the turns as they see them, took the makers of foreign policy to task in a very strong article about the mess they have made of the "package deal" for admitting eighteen new members to the UN.

Mr. Lippmann concludes that we got into what he calls this "mess" because Mr. Lodge and Mr. Dulles "did not take the trouble to think out what they were doing. . . . It was just the lack of a reasonable, not very difficult or far-reaching foresight." But I would go further than Mr. Lippmann. I think that something else is needed to explain their mumbling and bumbling, and I believe that that something else is the waning but still deadly power that Formosa has to raise insurrection and mutiny within the ranks of the Republican Party.

It is obvious that Chiang Kai-shek will never return to China in a rowboat, to be welcomed by cheering crowds who will overthrow the present government and reinstate him. He has only one prospect for return to the mainland, and that is a grim one for Americans to contemplate: a general war, with an American victory over Russia and reinstatement of Chiang in China as an American protégé, as a byproduct of that victory. Therefore Chiang's compelling and enduring interest is in hostility between America and Russia.

THE QUESTION OF FORMOSA is closely linked with the question of China, but the two problems are not identical. On the question of China, several approaches are open. Among the alternatives, one sensible point from which we might begin is the point from which John Foster Dulles was starting to begin in 1950, but from which he has long since scuttled away. In 1950 Mr. Dulles said in his book, **War or Peace:**

> "Some of the present member nations [of the UN], and others that might become members, have governments that are not representative of the people. But if in fact they are 'governments'—that is, if they 'govern'—then they have a power which should be represented in any organization that purports to mirror world reality.
>
> "If the Communist government of China in fact proves its ability to govern China without serious domestic resistance, then it, too, should be admitted to the UN. However, a regime that claims to have become the government of a country through civil war should not be recognized until it has been tested over a reasonable period of time.
>
> ". . . Communist governments today dominate more than 30 per cent of the population of the world. We may not like that fact; indeed, we do not like it at all. But if we want to have a **world** organization then it should be representative of the world as it is."

As contrasted with Mr. Dulles's presentation of 1950, the one line of argument that beyond any doubt whatever leads into a blind alley is the line to which we are at present committed: that a government which is not even in China, and which could not possibly return there without a massive foreign support that would arouse the most fundamental nationalistic and patriotic resistance, is the government that is properly qualified to represent, to vote for, and to exercise the veto on behalf of, 500 or more million Chinese and the vast mainland of China.

OWEN LATTIMORE

From personal experience

WHICH BRINGS US to Formosa itself. The problem can be set out in this way: first, how long do we maintain that it is practical policy to act as if Chiang Kai-shek will be able to fight his way back to China? Second, at what point is there a danger that an increasingly impotent Chiang, warlord of an increasingly aged army, will become a public farce? Some of the nations we need the most in Europe and Asia already think the whole business is a farce. Third, if the situation becomes so far out of line with reality that something has to be done, what does the public expect the government to do, and is the government thinking in terms of what the public wants, or in terms of what the public can be cajoled, or perhaps frightened, into going along with?

The government of Formosa is a rump government. The rump government is a military dictatorship of several hundred thousand defeated troops from the mainland, together with bureaucrats, political hacks, and camp followers. The Formosans have no great devotion to Chiang Kai-shek. His troops handled them very brutally in the first period of liberation from the Japanese.

Chiang Kai-shek's government is a rump government in its primary aspect. The primary characteristic of a rump is that it is split. The split in Chiang's regime is over the difference between mainlanders who would like to get back to the mainland, and islanders who may be afraid of the mainland Communists, but have no enthusiasm for an island crusade of eight or nine million people against a mainland with a population of over 500 million.

Among the refugees on Formosa, as among the Tsarist refugees after the Russian revolution, the number of officers is out of all proportion to the number of enlisted men. The Chinese Communist radio has a program of calling officers (and enlisted men) by name, telling them news of the old home town. They also tell them that when the Communists take Formosa there will be no political revenge against individuals if they do the right thing—even if they do it only at the very last moment. This kind of thing is clearly an invitation for a "colonels' coup" or "generals' putsch" by which Formosa might be taken, or half-taken, from the inside **before** a Communist landing. If so, what would be the reaction of a totally unprepared American public?

THESE UNLOVELY ASPECTS of "free world" politics on Formosa have occasionally been gone over, very lightly, by commentators who alternate between being far-sighted and far-fetched, like the Alsop brothers, but they certainly have not become part of the general field of informed public discussion. Yet if they are not calmly discussed and assessed, we are living in a political dreamworld, and one day, when the realities break in and shatter the dreams, we shall be in danger of another spasm of vengeful panic. Instead of admitting that we have been kidding ourselves for several years, there will be an agonized howl that somebody must have betrayed us, and another hunt for scapegoats will be on.

And even if Chiang's own military machine does not blow up in his face and ours, there is another time-bomb ticking away—that of Formosan nationalism. I do not know when it will explode, any more than I did in the case of Cyprus, but I am perfectly sure that it will—and when it does, it will very likely, as in the case of Cyprus, take the form of a demand for unification with the majority group on the mainland, the kinsmen by language, culture, historical tradition, and national pride. When that time comes, it will be no use telling the people on Formosa that they are better off in taxes, land, personal liberty, and everything else under American protection than they would be under Communist rule; no more use than it is telling the people of Cyprus that British colonial rule is less corrupt and more even-handed than Greek politics.

I DO NOT KNOW what ought to be done about Formosa. I am only saying that the kinds of things I have been talking about are the realities of politics, and that if we are to have a home life free from sudden surges of panic, public opinion ought to be allowed to get used to the realities, to hearing them talked about, to considering alternatives discussed in a reasonable manner, even if some of the facts that come to light may be ugly and unwelcome. I do not see how we can have a stable public opinion until the public is more adequately informed. We need more in the market place—more facts, and more ideas. And the only thing that stops us from getting them is fear—the fear that, for dealing in facts and ideas, we may be accused of political unreliability and what the Japanese used to call "dangerous thoughts." I think it is worth remembering that the typical Japanese "dangerous thought" was a democratic thought, which was dangerous because it could get you called a Red.

Fortunately, I think that matters may be taking a better turn, and I think that the right reason for this has been given by that great scientist and admirable citizen, Linus Pauling. In an address in Sweden, where he spoke for the entire group of Nobel Prize winners, he said that he thought that the question of war and peace had been solved by the hydrogen bomb—that the knowledge of what a world war would mean, will surely lead to permanent peace.

I think that a sign of the turn for the better is Mr. Walter Lippmann coming down on the dull head of Mr. Lodge and the duller head of Mr. Dulles like a ton of platitudes. But what I should like to see is not just Mr. Lippmann as a courageous but lonely and isolated elder statesman of the American public discussion of public affairs, but a rising young generation of new Lippmanns of the future. What we will have to grant them, if we are ever to get them, is the right of expression not only after they have attained wisdom, but while in the process of acquiring wisdom—the right to take minority positions, as an essential in testing the soundness of the majority position; the right not only to make mistakes in the course of learning, but to be free of jealous and vindictive persecution when they turn out to be right a long way ahead of other people. I also think that there is something that all of us can do about it. In the words of that independent, non-ideological, deeply conservative radical, Bernard De Voto. "the place to stop the erosion of freedom is right here."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE ON THE MOISSEYEV DANCERS

Fix up that tour of Revolutionary New York!

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WITH NEGOTIATIONS for Moscow's Moisseyev dance ensemble to cross the Atlantic now moving from the warm to the hot stage, it's time for Americans to get a line on the terpsichorean invasion they are inviting. During November these 75 hoofing ambassadors of goodwill, who need no words to get over their point that life can be beautiful whether in Tashkent or Tooting, have performed before over 100,000 Britons who will never be quite the same again.

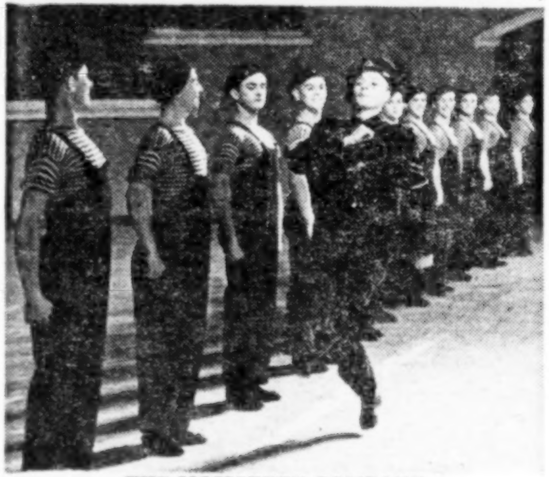
One of the things we discovered here was that, while they rehearse almost every day in addition to their performances, they never wear out and won't settle for less than seeing practically everything and meeting practically everybody. After four weeks of this murderous routine they leave in dairy-fresh condition to hoof more cold-war tensions away at the next port of call, while those who have undertaken to show them around go into a mild state of collapse.

MOISSEYEV HIMSELF: At one of the many formal and informal receptions here, hosted by Queens Counsel D. N. Pritt, who lives in the ancient cloistered Temple behind Fleet St., Igor Moisseyev told me that since they took Paris by storm last fall they have been invited to appear in 17 new countries. (They had already danced in Austria and all the socialist countries from China to Czechoslovakia.) Their own choice for the next stop would be between India and the U. S., where four impresarios have offered to sponsor them, including Hurok (a season at the Metropolitan in New York) and a chap in Los Angeles.

Himself a trained ballet-dancer—although he tells you with embarrassment that he only began his training at 14, whereas the customary age in Moscow is eight—Moisseyev at fortyish is a dapper, vigorous example of the new Soviet man of the world. You will meet, when he visits you, an unusual kind of director who works harder than any of his artists and lives modestly with them on the same scale as the others. Here they stayed at the rather obscure Shaftesbury Hotel in the heart of the theater district, in small, low-priced rooms.

THE TEAM SPIRIT: They are a team and they act and live like one. Moisseyev's blonde wife (they are one of seven married couples in the troupe) is Tamara Seifert, one of the star dancers; but stardom and the trappings thereof are not part of their pattern. In London tne only performer whose name the public got to know was Svetkov Neskov, who performed before the Queen and was photographed with her. Members of the orchestra that played for the troupe—it has its own conductor but uses local musicians—so appreciated this team spirit that they threw a farewell party and showered the dancers with presents.

The ages of the troupe range from 18 to 37. None of them speaks English; several talk excellent French including Moisseyev himself. But for many of them, coming from remote parts of the U. S. S. R., Russian is already a second language. They like to shop in obscure delicatessens for the wherewithal to satisfy their prodigious appetites in the hotel after the show, picnic-style with gallons of scalding tea. All are passionately interested in the theater, music and art, especially folk art, in which category they include music-hall comedians with a style developed out of popular tradition. It's a sure bet that their American hosts won't be forgiven if they don't provide an opportunity to hear Pete Seeger, Martha Schlamme, Burl Ives—and of course Robeson—but they'll want to know who and what makes America laugh.



THE MOISSEYEV COMPANY
In the Sailor's Dance

WAX AND REVOLUTION: In London they raved over the popular comedian Norman Wisdom, whose broad assaults on the risibilities are apt to produce sneers from British highbrows. They visited the Sadlers Wells Ballet School, and saw many films, the Chinese Classical Theater show, the Pilar Lopez Spanish Ballet, **Kismet,** and the veteran music-hall knockabouts known as the Crazy Gang.

Perhaps I should not mention it, but they are also very interested in waxworks (Madame Tussaud's famous collection here) and in revolutions—you know, those unpleasant but necessary things that happened at some time or another in most countries around the world. This particular thought did not occur to anyone among the London hosts; but suddenly, having buzzed down to Canterbury for tea with the Dean and facing next day a visit to the zoo, the troupe unanimously decided that a yak in Britain is very much like a yak in Moscow. A "tour of revolutionary London" would be much more the thing.

OLIVER THE LION-HEARTED: There wasn't much time, but a fellow with a historical turn was recruited and the expedition next day by two busloads of hoofers was pronounced a success. The fellow whipped up a subversive tour comprising the remains of London's Roman Wall, where he pictured Boadicea in her chariot leading the Iceni tribe's popular rising against the Roman occupiers in the first century A. D.; Tower Hill, where he discoursed on the Peasant Rising of 1381; and South London streets where the Chartists marched in 1848. They also visited the statue of Oliver Cromwell around which camera fans in the troupe wanted to take group snapshots. The pictures came out fine but the statue turned out to be that of Richard Coeur de Lion, who stands further up the street where buses are allowed to park.

All in all, the hoofers had as good a time as the audiences who flocked to see them at the 7,000-seat Empress Hall. Now they are back in Moscow where Moisseyev will resume, at least for a week or two before they're off again, an important interrupted job. He is in the middle of preparing the new Spartacus Ballet with Khatchaturian music for which Muscovite balletomanes have been waiting impatiently.

THAT TOUR OF NEW YORK: But the U. S. trip is likely to jell pretty soon. The deal the socialist countries like to make is an exchange involving troupes from each country visiting the other. When U. S. impresarios invited the Chinese Classical Theater troupe last summer, nothing came of it because Washington wouldn't let an American company visit China (which of course doesn't exist). But with the **Porgy & Bess** company visiting Moscow shortly, there seems to be no cause or just impediment in the Moisseyev case.

Somebody better get ready that "tour of revolutionary New York." Nathan Hale down in City Hall Park will be pleased to meet these nice people.

LABOUR SHOWING IS STRONG

Red spy scare wins again for Menzies in Australia

USING the "red scare" technique which he found so effective in last year's Australian election, Prime Minister Menzies again won a parliamentary majority in the Dec. 10 elections. It was the fifth general election in Australia in the last six years.

In the spring of 1954, Menzies found his government had grown unpopular by accepting Japanese rearmament and relaxing import controls on Japanese goods. It faced a serious challenge from Dr. Herbert Evatt's Labour Party. Six weeks before the May 29, 1954, elections, Menzies announced that a Soviet Embassy secretary, Vladimir Petrov, had disclosed to him a vast "Soviet spy ring" working through the Australian Communist Party and the Labour Party. The evidence turned out to be full of holes, but the screaming headlines helped Menzies' Liberal-Country coalition win a parliamentary majority of seven in the House and two in the Senate.

"ESPIONAGE REPORT": In the intervening 16 months the domestic situation grew worse. The Menzies government felt it might have to take "even more unpleasant measures" than before to combat "infiltration, dwindling gold reserves and a serious unbalance of overseas trade" (London **New Statesman,** 12/10). Evatt carried on a campaign of effective criticism of government policy and successfully blocked Menzies' legislation to suppress the Communist Party.

Last September Menzies issued the Report of a Royal Commission on Soviet Espionage on the Petrov case. Among other things, the Report seemed to implicate three of Evatt's aides. Its accusations were based primarily on surmises (GUARDIAN, 10/3) and two of Evatt's aides were exonerated in court of collaboration with Soviet agents. Nevertheless, the allegations split the Labour Party; a predominantly Catholic group left the party to form the Anti-Communist Labour Party.

SMASH EVATT: Although normally no elections would be held until 1957, Menzies decided to spring one this year by utilizing the Australian law allowing the government to seek a popular mandate at any time for its policies. He saw in the Labour Party split

> ". . . an opportunity to deal the Evatt forces a body blow and enhance the conservative [parliamentary] majority [and] smash Dr. Evatt as a personal rival for power" (N. Y. **Times,** 12/4).

The Labour campaign platform called for increased pensions and child endowments; a tax on profits of "trusts, monopolies and combines" and unimproved land values; recalling Australian forces now fighting the Malayan liberation army and extending UN membership to all nations, including China; expanded trade with the socialist countries; the banning of nuclear weapons. Labour also opposed the **ANZUS** (Australia. New Zealand, U. S.) and **SEATO** pacts, and criticized the Catholic church for interfering in the elections.

PERSONAL VENDETTA: The Anti-Communist Labour Party stood for the status quo at home and holding on to Malaya.

Menzies' keynote speech was described as "a speech without a policy" (**New Statesman,** 12/10). He turned the campaign into a ferocious assault on Evatt as a "Red," although Evatt's "bitterest enemies defend him against the charge of being a Communist sympathizer" (**NYT,** 12/4).

Latest results indicate that the Anti-Communist Labour Party has been wiped out. The Menzies coalition has increased its majority from seven to possibly 30 in the 124-member House. The Senate contest, decided on a proportional representation basis, still remains in doubt. Menzies was jubilant, but Australian commentators "remarked upon the strength of the Labour vote" despite the breach in the party (**NYT,** 12/10). Evatt said

> ". . . the people weren't frankly informed of the government's policies. The plan succeeded only because of the unholy alliance of the government and the Anti-Communist Labour party, whose candidates . . . appear to have been eliminated in favor of genuine Labour men."

DOWN TO BRASS TACKS: Washington looks on Australia as a strong outpost of its policy in the Far East; but to the London **New Statesman** five elections in six years reflected "an uneasy political situation." A stalemate was indicated if Menzies failed to secure a dependable Senate majority. The London **Daily Telegraph** (12/12) said:

> "Mr. Menzies' success . . . will only be justified if his government [uses] its . . . new mandate to deal with the country's pressing economic problems. . . . Quite possibly in the process he will provide the opposition with genuine grievances. . . . It is high time Australian politicians began arguing about brass tacks rather than Red scares."

THE SHADOW KNOWS
Menzies—and Dulles behind him

NEXT WEEK

The GUARDIAN will begin a new three-part series on the American economy by Tabitha Petran. The articles will reply to the criticism raised against Miss Petran's GUARDIAN series of last August, and will advance the discussion.

THE REVOLUTION REACHES INTO TIBET — III

The road brings the tools to shape a new life

By Israel Epstein
Special to the Guardian

LHASA, Tibet

OF ALL THE MANY different kinds of help the rest of China is giving Tibet, the economic aid is most important. If this huge, sparsely populated region is still archaic in its social development, the main reason is that ways of production have remained too backward to provide a base for progress. The old reactionary governments of China, and the old imperialism, tended to freeze Tibet at this primitive stage—with its attendant hardships on the people. The People's Republic of China is bringing the thaw.

It is not only that Tibet, which did not have a mile of highway before the liberation, now has thousands of miles of excellent roads linking its main cities with inland China, with each other, and with transit points to India. Even before there were any roads the region was not as isolated as some pretend.

THE BIG DIFFERENCE: The nobles, clerics and merchants of Lhasa many years ago began to acquire the Parker fountain pens and gold Rolex watches which, along with colorful robes of ancient cut but often made of English broadcloth or Chinese silks, have become part of their standard equipment. Heavy steel bridge girders—cut into lengths a yak could transport, then riveted together once more and elaborately painted with traditional designs—are the preferred ceiling-beams in Lhasa's wealthiest homes. Such commodities, and arms, came through in substantial quantities.

But none of these things made any essential difference to the people. They continued to tell time by the sun, to use ploughs that were little more than forked sticks tipped with iron shares, to pay high prices for tea, to wear patched and ragged homespun or sheepskins. When the road began, and spades were issued, some mistook them for ploughs and tried to use them in the same way.

Probably not since the Tang dynasty, 1,300 years ago, has any production equipment of any kind come in from outside. Even if there had been roads much earlier, it is doubtful whether Tibet's basic economy would have moved far forward. The British, after all, built many railways in India without easing the lot of the peasant. The fine highways and railways of the U. S. did not help the American Indian; they practically abolished him. So the difference has been made by something else—by the Chinese revolution and its policy of production advance for all—with the national minorities getting special consideration.

THE TOOLS OF LIFE: The new Sikang-Tibet highway and its companion, the equally long Chinghai-Tibet highway, have been maligned abroad as "military" and "instruments of conquest." In truth the roads have brought real security to China's southeast borderlands, which have formed her state frontier for many hundreds of years. But the "weapons" these roads bring to Tibet are not guns. They are tools for the Tibetans to build a more abundant life.

In the Kangting Tibetan Autonomous Area, with some half a million people, 380,000 new farm implements of steel and iron have already been distributed free. In the same area, travelling veterinary teams have already given treatment to 460,000 animals and good cattle quarantine services have been set up. A recently-developed cross between the Tibetan sheep and a Soviet variety is producing twice the previous wool yield. The conservation and re-planting of pastures is being introduced. (I remembered how the U. S. government, when the Navajo Indians were plunged into famine by a land and pasture crisis on their reservation in the 1940's, advised them only to kill off their goats if they did not wish to starve themselves).

This is in the Tibetan Autonomous Region in Sikang Province. The women are taking time off from farm work for a cup of tea.

THE EXPERIMENTAL FARM: In Lhasa itself the chief attraction during the 1955 National Day festivities was a big exhibition of agriculture, animal husbandry, culture and health, with a huge combine-harvester going through its paces in front of the fabled Potala. Such things are no longer curiosities but matters of informed interest.

The reason is the Lhasa Experimental Farm. This expertly-staffed institution has produced phenomenal yields of barley, wheat, squash and tomatoes (unknown previously) on sun-drenched virgin land made fertile by the loam of countless generations of grass, and now irrigated and protected by windbreaks.

In Lhasa and other cities, new power stations and the first factories in "Tibet Proper" are going up. An ironworks will make farm tools and simple machinery. A leather factory will process hides, hitherto largely wasted. In these plants, Tibet's modern working class will have its beginning. In the future it will build large-scale industry on the basis of extensive resources now being surveyed.

Trade in Tibet is no longer a kind of robbery. An added incentive to the peasant to produce more, even within the present social relations inside Tibet, is the fact that he can buy several times as much cloth or tea as before the liberation for the same amount of grain. The herdsman too gets proportionally more goods for his wools.

THE WAY IS OPEN: Most trade is, of course, still private. But the market activity of state buying and selling agencies, with large resources and stores of goods, makes it certain that unconscionable profiteers will simply have no customers. At the same time, private trade is encouraged to earn more by handling more goods, instead of hoarding and making an exorbitant profit per unit.

On a larger scale, Tibet's trade with other areas of China has increased several-fold since the road opened.

World-wide experience, and particularly that of under-developed areas, has shown that no social advance is possible while production remains primitive, while markets are inactive and disconnected, and while trade is on unequal terms. In Tibet production is moving forward and trade has begun to serve the people. That is a big step on the long road to the future.

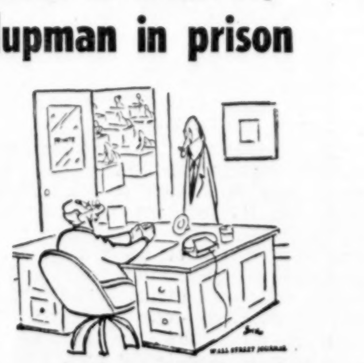
THE TAFT-HARTLEY OATH CASES

Mine-Mill's Travis on trial in Denver; Jencks loses appeal; Hupman in prison

IN ALL THE OUTPOURING of resolutions at the recent AFL-CIO merger convention, none called for the defense of trade unionists prosecuted on charges of falsely signing Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. At least four such cases are of current active interest. Two involve officers of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, two rank and file members of the independent United Electrical Workers Union.

THE TRAVIS CASE: Maurice E. Travis, former M-M secy.-treas. and now a regional director in Los Angeles, is being tried in a Denver federal court on two charges that he falsely stated that he was neither a member of nor "affiliated" with the Communist Party. Travis first signed a T-H affidavit in 1949, shortly after he publicly resigned from the Communist Party; neither that affidavit nor one for 1950 was challenged. He is being tried for identical affidavits for 1951 and 1952, for which he was indicted just before the statute of limitations would have expired.

A motion for a mistrial in the case was denied earlier this month. The motion was based on inconsistencies in the testimony of government informer Kenneth Eckert and a charge that he deliberately attempted to prejudice the defense. In previous appearances, Eckert has frequently described what he called a "Communist meeting" held in Chicago in 1947, but in this trial he swore for the first time that Nathan Witt, general counsel for M-M and defense attorney for Travis, was present.



Wall Street Journal

"You know what children they are, Johnson . . . why, if I gave you a raise they'd all want one."

THE JENCKS CASE: Earlier a federal Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld a T-H conviction against Clinton E. Jencks, an M-M officer found guilty on the testimony of recanting government witness Harvey Matusow. The sentencing judge agreed that Matusow was a liar, but decided he lied not in his original testimony but in his recantation. The appeals court agreed with him. The Jencks' conviction is being appealed.

HUPMAN-LOHMAN CASES: The UE rank-and-filers under attack are both from Dayton, O. Melvin Hupman, for 20 years an employe of the Frigidaire Divn. of General Motors, is now serving a five-year sentence in the Lewisburg, Pa., Federal Penitentiary; Walter Lohman was convicted this September and is still free in bail pending an appeal. Both men were indicted years after the "crime" and long after their union ceased to be the bargaining agent in the plants where thy worked.

Hupman, who helped organize the CIO in the area, was indicted in 1952 just before the expiration of the statute of limitations in his case. He was tried in August, 1953, in his home town. The jury, after deliberating for 27 hours, was hopelessly divided 7 to 5. The government moved the second trial to Cincinnati, capital of the Taft family. There a jury took only 18 minutes to convict. A District Court of Appeals upheld the conviction in January this year. In June the Supreme Court declined to review the case and Hupman began his prison term the same month.

INFORMED ON WIFE: Witnesses against him included Arthur Strunk, who claimed he was an undercover FBI agent since 1944, and Roger Dunham, who said he reported to the FBI for 12 years. Strunk has testified as a government "expert on Communism" in the Cleveland Smith Act trial and in the Braden trial in Kentucky. He has admitted that as an FBI informer he turned in reports on his own wife. Dunham was a neighbor of the Hupmans, who frequently befriended his children. Dunham's son was working for Mrs. Hupman the day Dunham took the stand against her husband.

The Committee for American Rights (P.O. Box 187, Dayton 7, O.) is now campaigning for the freedom of both men. It is seeking a Supreme Court review of the Hupman case, based on new evidence, and is urging that the case against Lohman be dropped. The committee urges letters to Atty. Gen. Brownell on both points, and to Chairman Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, urging that he investigate the nature of the witnesses in the cases. It is also appealing for funds.

Mrs. Pearl Hupman is now on tour for support from trade unions and other groups and plans to appear at public rallies in Chicago in January and in New York in February.

THE GROVELAND TRAGEDY

Walter Lee Irvin's death sentence changed to life by Florida governor

THE FLORIDA PARDON BOARD on Dec. 15 commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of Walter Lee Irvin, 28, convicted in the Groveland, Fla., "Little Scottsboro" case.

Irvin and three other Negro youths in 1949 were accused of raping a white woman at Groveland. One of the accused was shot to death by a deputized mob on the night of the alleged crime. James Shepherd and Irvin were sentenced to death. Charles Greenlee, 16, "too young" for the electric chair, was given life on the chain-gang.

The U. S. Supreme Court answered an NAACP appeal by ordering a new trial for Irvin and Shepherd. The late Justice Robert H. Jackson in his opinion said the convictions,

> ". . . accompanied by such [acts of violence against the Negro community], do not meet any civilized conception of due process of law. . . . This case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces of American life."

SHOOTING SHERIFF: Sheriff Willis V. McCall in 1951 shot Shepherd to death and wounded Irvin "in self-defense" while transporting them, handcuffed together, from state prison to court for a second trial. McCall has since been conspicuous by his anti-integration speeches in Delaware, his refusal to act in the recent shooting up of a union meeting of Negro citrus workers, and his barring Indian children from the Lake County school "because they look like nigras." He tried to prevent favorable action on Irvin by the Pardon Board.

The board's action was taken at the suggestion of Gov. LeRoy Collins who, last November, succeeded Gov. Charley Johns. Both had been besieged with appeals for clemency not only by the NAACP and other Negro organizations but also by groups of white Floridians. A committee of white ministers presented evidence to show that Irvin was innocent. The St. Petersburg **Times** said its reporters on the case "were never convinced" of the four defendants' guilt, because of "unexplained discrepancies in evidence and other strange elements of the case."

CHINA NEWS CASE

Moy enters prison, fine money raised; paper will go on

EUGENE T. MOY, editor of the **China Daily News,** was taken to New York's Federal House of Detention on West St. Friday morning, Dec. 16, to begin serving a one-year sentence. A $25,000 fine levied against his paper was paid last week out of contributions from all parts of the Western hemisphere. The paper will continue.

Moy and two stockholders of the **China Daily News** were convicted under the "Trading With the Enemy Act." Their crime: publishing two advertisements of a Hong Kong bank offering to transmit money from overseas Chinese to their families.

The paper is the only Chinese language publication in the hemisphere supporting China against Chiang Kai-shek. The legal prosecution came after years of harassment during which thugs tried to drive the paper off the newsstands by intimidating dealers; they also threatened subscribers and advertisers.

THE WORK GOES ON: On the day he left for prison Moy reaffirmed his "innocence of any wrong-doing," called himself a "victim of cold-war hysteria" and added:

> "The **China Daily News** under my editorship has consistently fought for world peace and friendship between the people of my country, the United States, and the People's Republic of China. It was these principles, I believe, which rubbed some people the wrong way and gave rise to the charges against me and my paper. These people thought that my conviction and the $25,000 fine against the paper would kill the **China Daily News** and silence it forever.
>
> "These people are wrong. Yesterday we paid the $25,000 fine, dollar bills sent in by ordinary people from all over the western hemisphere. They understood the nature of the attack on me and on the paper, and they refused to see the paper die.
>
> "The **China Daily News** will continue. It will continue to fight for world peace and for friendship with the People's Republic of China. Nothing can kill the faith of the Chinese community that these principles will be achieved."

Give This Paper To A Friend

CASTILLO WAS TOO MUCH

Exiled president of Venezuela returns degree to Columbia

CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS
Alma Mater draws blood

CARLOS CASTILLO ARMAS, who assumed the presidency of Guatemala following the bloody invasion of his country and overthrow of the democratic republic there, received an honorary Doctorate of Laws from Columbia University during his U. S. tour in November. Last week Romulo Gallegos, ex-president of Venezuela and one of Latin America's most distinguished novelists, refused to share Columbia's honors with Castillo and renounced the degree given him by the University in 1948.

Gallegos told the Mexico City daily, **Novedades,** he had been happy to accept his degree as an "honor paid to the president of a friendly country and also to the man of letters whose works were used as study material in courses at that university." Then he added:

> "Later I saw that this honor was equally given to the head of a Latin American country who came to power through a military coup, and consonant with my democratic position, respectful of the rights of man and of peoples, I could not permit myself to share the honor with anyone who came to govern his country by opposite means. . . ."

THREE PLACES: He explained that he would have returned his diploma to Columbia but it had gone astray when the putchists, headed by Col. Perez Jimenez, rifled his papers and drove him from his office and his country. That putsch installed the present dictatorial regime in Venezuela which is on excellent terms with the U. S.

When faced with the military coup Gallegos had refused to resign, declaring:

> "For me there can only be three places—the presidency, where the people put me, jail or the cemetery."

In honoring President Castillo, Dr. Grayson Kirk, president of Columbia, had hailed him as a "resolute foe of communism" and a

> ". . . soldier who inspired his fellow citizens to overthrow the rule of a despot; statesman who is their leader as they reestablish constitutional and democratic government."

Guatemala is currently governed by terror; land which Guatemalans received under the Arbenz administration is being returned to the big landowners; the prisons are filled with political dissidents.

From Mexico came reports that 40 other prominent intellectuals, many holding degrees from Columbia, had protested the honors to Castillo. A Columbia spokesman said Dr. Kirk was in India but confirmed the report that Gallegos' letter had been received. Information director John Hastings said university officials had been mystified by Gallegos' letter, insisting he had given no reason for renouncing the degree. Informed by the GUARDIAN of Gallegos' statement to **Novedades,** Hastings expressed surprise, called it "interesting," said there would be no comment.

Legal killing

IN BRITAIN, where according to Holinshed 72,000 executions took place during Henry VIII's reign alone, there were 220 capital offenses in 1819 and the death penalty for stealing cattle or sheep was abolished in 1832. The first capital punishment abolition bill passed its first House of Commons reading in 1928. A bill suspending capital punishment for five years was passed by the House, 245 to 222, in 1948 but this clause was thrown out by the Lords.

Nepal stopped capital punishment in 1931; most recent countries to abolish it were Italy (1948), W. Germany and Finland (1949), Austria (1950), Israel (1954). In the U. S. it is abolished in six states; ten others abolished it and then restored it.

A PAUPER IN ENGLAND

Dutton deportation delayed in Detroit

IMMENSE public pressure on the Immigration and Naturalization Service by the press, trade unions and citizenry of Detroit and environs has at least temporarily stayed the deportation of 70-year-old Thomas Dutton, carpenter, house painter and railwayman. He had been ordered to report for deportation Dec. 22 after nearly 46 years in this country. Deportation would mean separation from his citizen wife, Margaret and his U. S.-born children and grandchildren.

His exclusion was ordered under the Walter-McCarran Act after two paid informers testified they had seen him at Communist meetings during the 1929 depression. Dutton came to the U. S. from Windsor, Canada, in 1910. His parents told him he was born in Philadelphia but the Immigration Service plans to deport him to England. Arthritic and unable to work at his trades, he will be a pauper in England, deprived even of his $40.60 a month Social Security earned during his working years in America. The Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is fighting his case. Attorney George W. Crockett Jr. is seeking cancellation of the deportation order because of the hardships it would work.

THOMAS DUTTON
Mercy's quality strained

Give a Guardian gift sub today.
$1 for 26 weeks.

Who wants roses!

Even the lowly can-opener has advanced to luxury status in time for 1955 Christmas giving. A deluxe 14-karat gold-plated-over-steel job may not open cans any more efficiently, but is guaranteed to up the morale of a kitchen-bound housewife. Also ideal for career girl cooks who must do it quick, could be given as a hostess gift and is bound to be better meal ticket than the usual dozen roses. It's $100 in Hammacher Schlemmer's second floor housewares section, Monogrammed free.

—N. Y. **Post,** Dec. 13

2-YEAR FFC CASE

Lamb is cleared; he'll get license

FOR MORE than two years, since August, 1953, the Federal Communications Commission fought against a renewal of a TV station license to Edward O. Lamb, broadcaster and newspaper publisher, on the ground that he was subversive. After months of hearings and volumes of testimony from government informers—two of whom said they had sworn falsely—FCC examiner Herbert Sharfman on Dec. 7 made his decision:

> "There is no proof that Lamb personally engaged in any subversive acitivity."

If, within 40 days, the FCC does not contest its examiner's finding, it will go into effect automatically.

BUDENZ'S MEMORY: Mrs. Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson, FCC witnesses, both recanted and said they gave false testimony. Mrs. Natvig said she was coerced and coached by FCC attorneys; she subsequently was prosecuted and convicted of perjury.

Sharfman said he also had strong doubts about the testimony of government informer Louis F. Budenz, particularly

> ". . . regarding Budenz's prodigious powers of almost total recall of events so long ago, which must not have loomed large at the time they were supposed to have happened."

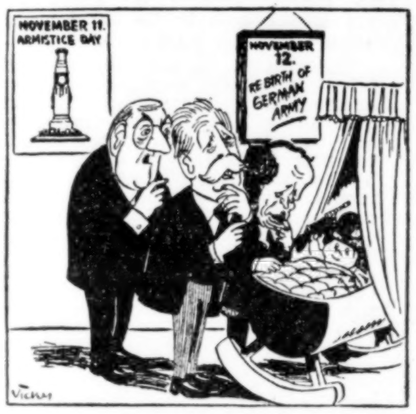
The examiner found some evidence of personal sympathy by Lamb for the Soviet regime, but held that "there is nothing to indicate that he called for the importation of communism in the U. S. and the destruction of American institutions." Past associations charged to Lamb he ruled could have been due to "possible naivete" which could not "be transformed into something more sinister."

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

was apparent also in the stalemate—for almost half a year now—in the U.S.-China talks in Geneva over Washington's refusal to discuss anything but exchange of nationals. And it was most apparent of all at the UN Assembly's 10th session.

On disarmament—the most important issue before the UN—Washington overrode widespread misgivings among "neutral" and even allied nations. It pushed through Assembly endorsement (56-7) of a resolution which, in effect, ended efforts to reach agreement on disarmament and on banning mass destruction weapons. The Assembly's action gave Washington another propaganda weapon against the socialist world. U.S. delegate Henry C. Lodge suggested how this weapon would be used when he said: "Our action makes the 'open sky' plan [President Eisenhower's aerial inspection proposal] a household word in every land and eventually behind the Iron Curtain. The people of the world will demand it be put in operation." (The plan, as even some U.S. commentators admit, is designed to facilitate intelligence and has nothing to do with disarmament.)


NOVEMBER 11. ARMISTICE DAY
NOVEMBER 12. RE-BIRTH OF GERMAN ARMY
Vicky

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Isn't he sweet and innocent—now, why should anyone be afraid of him?"

THE COUNCIL SEAT: On the issue of filling the E. European seat on the Security Council, Washington's "intransigence"—as it was called at UN—finally forced postponement of the session's closing and resort to lottery to break the deadlock. Washington's nomination of the Philippines for this seat has been steadfastly opposed by the socialist states, W. Europe, Britain and most of the Commonwealth. These countries originally supported Poland, then, as a compromise, Yugoslavia, in observance of the 1946 agreement on geographical distribution of Council membership.

Through a record 35 ballots, held over a two-month period, the U.S., with Latin American support, kept the Philippines in the race and refused all compromises. Sweden, for example, was reportedly unacceptable to the U.S. because it favors China's representation in the UN. Finally Assembly President Maza, in an effort to get Washington off the hook and the UN out of an impossible position, proposed that Yugoslavia and the Philippines split the two-year term, the order of service to be decided by lottery. Endorsed by the U.S. and Britain, this plan, many delegates felt, left a "bad taste" and was rejected as unconstitutional.

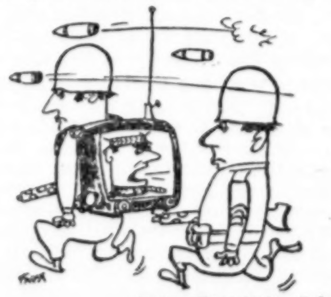
In its eagerness to get home by Christmas, however, a reluctant Assembly finally agreed; Yugoslavia, chosen by lottery to serve the first year, was elected with the tacit understanding that it will resign after one year. However, there was also tacit agreement that, within the next year, the Security Council will be enlarged in line with the UN's larger membership. It is believed that the Philippines will be elected to one of the new seats, thus obviating the need for Yugoslavia to resign.

Perhaps the lottery deal will save U.S. face but, for many delegates, the deadlocked elections had been a frightening demonstration of Washington's refusal to retreat—or even compromise—on an issue of little practical importance to the UN.

THE NEW MEMBERS: Through the UN's highly dramatic battle over admission of new members, Lodge identified the U.S. solidly with the Chiang Kai-shek delegation. He thus belied Washington spokesmen who tried to disassociate the U.S. from the Chiang veto of Outer Mongolia, which killed the 18-nation package deal and provoked a storm of anger. This anger threatened, verbally at least, to sweep Chiang out of the UN. Latin American delegations, hitherto the U.S.'s biggest help in keeping China out, were demanding Chiang's ouster.

Yet all Western nations on the Security Council, which supported the 18-nation admission, went along with a U.S.-Chiang delegation maneuver to place responsibility for the package plan failure on the U.S.S.R. All—with the exception of New Zealand—violated their own Assembly resolution to vote for a resolution to admit S. Viet Nam and So. Korea; and New Zealand, in the Council presidency, obligingly called for a vote first on these proposals. Thus the U.S.S.R. was forced to cast the first vetoes.

The U.S. and Chiang delegations appeared to be totally unprepared for the U.S.S.R.'s proposal next day to admit 16 countries, omitting Mongolia and Japan. Lodge and the Chiang representative looked stunned; their advisers scurried from one delegation to another. But, after berating the U.S.S.R. for what he called its "18 or nothing" stand, Lodge was in no position to take a "17 or nothing" stand himself. The Soviet proposal was therefore approved.



Neue Illustrierte, Cologne

"Where do you think you're going, Sergeant Schmidt?"

Which?

"THERE is looming up a new and dark power: the accumulation of individual wealth seems to be greater than it has been since the downfall of the Roman Empire. The enterprise of the country are aggregating vast corporate combinations of capital, boldly marching, not for economic conquest only but for political power. The question will arise, and arise in your day, though perhaps not fully in mind, 'Which shall rule, wealth or man; which shall lead—money or intellect; who shall fill public stations—educated and patriotic freemen or the feudal serfs of corporate capital?"

—Chief Justice Edward Ryan of Wisconsin in 1873.

CHINA AND JAPAN: Delegates privately credited the U.S.S.R. with a brilliant diplomatic victory. U.S.-British efforts to counter its effect on world public opinion—by introducing Security Council resolutions designed to provoke a series of Soviet vetoes of Japan's admission—may have some present effect in Japan. But most UN diplomats saw still another major blunder in Washington's refusal to accept the U.S.S.R.'s proposal for simultaneous admission of Japan and Mongolia next year. For the U.S.S.R. is expected, from now on, to make Japan's admission conditional on that of China as well as Mongolia. The **NYT** said (12/15):

> "Few delegates envy the Eisenhower Administration the decision it will now have to make between getting Japan in and keeping Communist China out of the UN."

Admission of the 16 countries represents a significant step toward further relaxation of international tension. The possibility now exists that the UN, whose usefulness had all but been destroyed by its exploitation as a Western cold war weapon, may perform a valuable role in achieving peace. The UN's enlargement will certainly not solve all UN problems or even, for the time being, bring any radical shift in UN voting patterns. But it will (1) contribute to dissolving the rigid line-ups of the "cold war"; (2) weaken the control of the Western colonial powers; (3) bring closer the admission of China through acceptance of the principle of universality and because of the behavior of the Chiang delegation.

NOT VERY BRIGHT: The U.S. stand on the new member issue was sharply condemned both in and outside the UN. The Republican N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (12/15) declared editorially:

> ". . . the U.S. has been outmaneuvered, outplayed, and left in a most unhappy position. . . . The impression is unescapable that American diplomacy has not been very quick or intelligent; or perhaps that it has simply been trying to be too clever for its own good."

So long as its policies run counter to the growing world demand for new approaches to end the threat of war, Washington cannot help be outmaneuvered and outplayed. For it is not the execution of policies but the policies themselves that are incompatible with today's realities and with the U.S.'s national interests. And these policies are increasingly isolating the U.S.

Thus, while the U.S. has been ardently embracing Chiang's doomed regime, Soviet leaders had

> ". . . convinced much of the rank and file of India's 370 million people that the Soviet Union is their friend. . . . On major international issues . . . [their] visit brought Russia and India much closer together" (**AP**, 12/14).

THE 2 APPROACHES: While U.S. opinion was "hardening" against India, while Nehru's "professed neutrality" was being questioned (**NYT**, 12/18), and he was being attacked by AFL-CIO chief George Meany as an "ally of Russian Communism," Soviet leaders were saying in India:

> "The Soviet Union, China, Britain, France, and the U.S. are in no way greater than India. India should take its place in the front rank of the great powers."

The U.S., giving first priority to the rapid rearming of W. Germany and "strengthening" of its many military pacts, has decided not to "compete" for the favors of "neutralist" countries by increasing "non-political" economic aid. It will make any economic aid conditional on acceptance of U.S. economic advice.

This was a condition of the U.S.-British offer to help finance Egypt's Aswan dam, as was the barring of Soviet participation). At the same time, the Soviet travelers were reaffirming with their host governments the Bandung principles of coexistence, and signing with India, Burma and Afghanistan trade, economic and technical assistance agreements, with no strings attached.

The peoples of Asia—who make up roughly half the world's population, and many others all over the world—would surely agree with Prime Minister Nehru who declared:

> "Indo-Soviet friendship will be good for the whole world. . . . This friendship and co-operation is not directed against any nation or people. We trust that the area of friendship and co-operation will extend until it ultimately embraces the whole world."

For peace and real security

Following are excerpts from the joint Indian-Soviet statement issued after the Bulganin-Khrushchev tour of India:

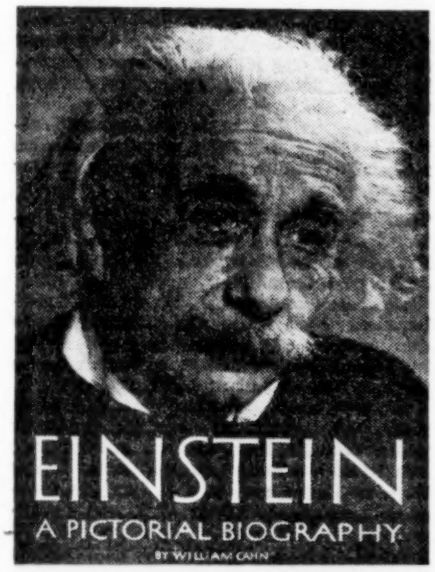
LEADERS of both countries are convinced that there can be no lasting peace in Asia so long as the People's Republic of China is not given its rightful place in the UN. They deplore the delay in recognizing this patent fact. [They believe] the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to coastal islands and Taiwan (Formosa) should be satisfied and the Korean problem should be settled on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Korean people and in accordance with the interests of peace in the Far East.

They note with regret that impediments have been placed in the way of carrying out the Geneva agreement in Vietnam. [They] appeal to all parties and interests concerned to remove obstacles now standing in the way of effective implementation of the Geneva agreements and to co-operate fully in carrying out in letter and in spirit the provisions of these agreements.

Positive, adequate and early steps should be taken toward disarmament. . . . In particular . . . there should be unconditional prohibition of the production, use and experimentation of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. . . .

[They] agreed that the method of insuring peace and security was not by formation of military alliances or regional military blocs [which] widened the frontiers of cold war and introduced the element of instability in the areas concerned. . . . Peace and real security can be insured only by the collective efforts of states. . . . Cultural and economic contacts between countries should be encouraged. . . .

Pictorial biography of Albert Einstein



THE PHOTOGRAPH above makes up the jacket cover of a book just published: **Einstein: A Pictorial Biography,** by Wililam Cahn (Citadel Press, 222 4th Av., N.Y.C. 3. Cloth, $3; paper, $1.50. 128 pp.) It is a splendid collection of photographs which take Einstein from childhood, through his student days, his European exile and his coming to America, to his death. More than just a fine series of pictures, it relates this great man, through pictures and text, to the world events that accompanied, or caused, his odysseys.

As Cahn says in his introduction: "Many words will be written about Einstein . . . but in some respects words alone are inadequate in dealing with this man. Something of the firmament—which occupied so much of his time and study—reflected itself in him. . . . You may read his life in his eyes as well as in his words."

This becomes so strikingly clear as you leaf through the book, quickly at first, because you want to see it all, reflectively the next time because you want to fit the quotations to the face and the eyes. And always with a mixture of pleasure and sadness which find such a sensitive response in the face of the man Einstein. **—J. A.**

The French elections

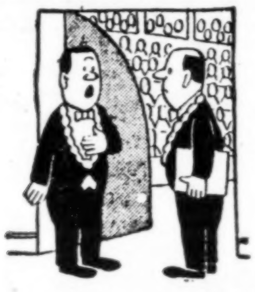
(Continued from Page 1)

Faure's decision to dissolve parliament and call a quick election was reported to be based on the fear that his rival, ex-Premier Mendes-France, would form "an alliance of the Left which will include not only the Socialists but the CP" (London **New Statesman**, 12/10). Mendes-France, however, has rejected the advice of some of his colleagues to do precisely what Faure feared.

Mendes-France did form a "republican front" which is supported by his own Radical Party, Socialist leaders, the Gaullist Social Republicans and the small Democratic and Social Resistant's Union. His mission seems to be "to prevent a Left coalition with the CP by forming one without them" (NYT, 12/5).

Faure is backed by Foreign Minister Pinay's conservative Independents, the predominantly Catholic Popular Republican Movement (MRP) and those who followed him when he was ousted last month from the Radical Party now controlled by the Mendes-France faction.

The CP is supported by many dissident Radicals and Gaullists and many Socialist Party locals who are demanding to be allowed to form alliances with the CP.



Carrefour, Paris

"You must admit that they're courageous. In their place, I wouldn't dare face the electorate at all!"

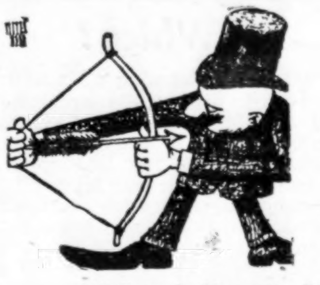
These are the main contestants, although over 100 local groups are also running, including an association "for the defense of motorists."

"HOTHOUSE" ECONOMY: The elections are taking place at a time when France is beset by colonial and economic problems.

Despite concessions, increasing numbers of Moroccans and Tunisians are demanding complete independence. The bloody Algerian struggle continues to take a heavy toll of lives.

The French economy has the fever flush of prosperity for big business protected by high tariffs, government subsidies, import quotas and heavy U.S. military aid. But a crisis is foreseen next year when U.S. aid is expected to drop from this year's $830 million to $385 million. **U.S. News** said (12/16):

> "France's hothouse economy will soon have to adjust to blasts of cold air from the outside world. A sharp drop in U.S. aid . . . will have a chilling effect. . . . There's pressure in Europe to make France toe the mark—admit more imports, cut export subsidies. . . . France, during 1956, will have to face the cold facts of economic life."



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

The electoral law is a double-edged weapon.

In this situation, neither Mendes-France nor Pinay—who usually speaks for Faure—has offered any clear-cut program. As "practical politicians," **U.S. News** said, "neither has ever expressed his policies for the future." Pinay and Faure have rattled off such words as "stability," "thrift," and "gradual progress." Mendes-France has talked of "action," "movement," "dynamism," and "national sobriety."

THE BASIC ISSUES: The CP alone has raised the issues of the economy, housing, unemployment benefits, state aid to church-supported schools (passed in last parliament), "social progress, national independence and peace." Its newspaper **l'Humanite** said (11/12):

> "The people want negotiations in N. Africa, secularism restored and defended, wages raised—the complete opposite of what the Right is doing. The Right is worried . . . because it sees developing the unity among Socialist and Communist workers which can become, as in 1936, the determining factor of an irresistible drive leading to victory of the Left."

Despite the opposition of top Socialist leaders, a groundswell has been developing for a popular front with the CP. **Humanite** reported dozens of appeals to SP leaders. **NYT** correspondent Harold Callender reported many alliances between the Socialists and Communists because, as "practical political observers contend . . . a Left bloc has no chance unless it includes the Communists, as it did in 1936."

THE OUTLOOK: Predictions are that, like the 20 French governments in the last 10 years, another right-wing coalition government will take office Jan. 19, although the CP is expected to increase its representation.

A **NYT** editorial (11/30) admitted that "the orientation of the French people is doubtless more Left than Right." It is impossible, the editorial said, "to create a Left government without the Communists." Since such a popular front has not yet emerged, the **Times** said,

> ". . . one gets back again and again to the old, precarious majorities that lean Right of Center, and never satisfy anybody, not even themselves."

American know-how

BONN, Germany, Dec. 9 (Reuters)—West German authorities banned today the sale of a model airplane construction kit made in the United States. The reason: the model of a Messerschmitt 109 was exact to the minutest details, even to Nazi swastika.

N. Y. **Times**, Dec. 11, 1955

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15 YEARS FOR "SEDITION"

Braden appeals conviction; calls it desegregation case

BECAUSE HE BOUGHT and transferred to a Negro family a home in a lily-white neighborhood, Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., is under a 15-year sentence on a charge of sedition. On Dec. 9 his defense attorneys filed with the Kentucky Supreme Court a 330-page brief attacking his trial and conviction on every level and calling the jury's verdict "the result of passion and prejudice." Said the brief: "This is not a sedition case, but a desegregation case."

The brief argues that the Kentucky sedition law is unconstitutional, that it does not forbid controversial action in the field of desegregation, that it is in any case superseded by federal statutes aimed at subversion (which in turn are under constitutional attack before the U.S. Supreme Court). In addition, the brief asserts that the indictment was defective; a search of the Braden home was illegal; introduction as evidence of books and papers seized was prejudicial error; Judge L. R. Curtis' instructions to the jury were prejudicially erroneous and interpreted the statute in a way to make it clearly unconstitutional.

"APPEAL TO PREJUDICE": Rules of evidence, said the brief, were so disregarded as to invite the jury "to decide whether the defendant was a good or bad man, not whether he had committed specific acts." It added that "the prosecution's closing argument to the jury is a monumental appeal to passion and prejudice" and said that Braden had been subjected to a courtroom inquisition into his opinions about the McCarran Internal Security Act, trade with China, universal military training, responsibility for the war in Korea, and other irrelevant subjects.

Braden and his wife Anne transferred the home to Andrew Wade IV in the spring of 1954. After the Negro family moved in, the house came under violent attack and five other white persons went to the Wades' defense. On June 27, 1954, the house was partially destroyed by a crude bomb. A grand jury indicted the Bradens and the other five under the state sedition law. Braden was convicted a year ago; trial of the others has been postponed pending the outcome of his appeal.

THERE WAS NO PROOF: The appeal brief says that Braden was not indicted for attacking the Constitution, but for attempting to give it meaning. It contends that testimony about the purchase of the home and its dynamiting should not have been admitted because it had nothing to do with sedition and that the guilty verdict could "only have resulted from the jury's passionate disapproval of the defendant's lawful purchase of the Wade house. Such a conviction and sentence cannot be allowed to stand." The brief said:

> "So far as the bombing and other violence was concerned, there was a total failure of proof that the defendant, or anyone else named in the testimony as a Communist Party member, was responsible for it in any way."

During the trial Judge Curtis withdrew a charge that Braden personally advocated sedition because of total absence of evidence; he was convicted solely on the question of whether he had had contact with "seditious" organizations (he denied from the stand that he is a member of the CP), or possessed "seditious" books.

THE BASIC ISSUE: Declaring the heart of the case to be the issue of desegregation, the brief says:

> "Integration of the Negro people into the general community is one of the most important and difficult problems of the present day. For a long time it was deemed permissable to enforce segregation of the races by law. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court, however, have withdrawn constitutional sanction from officially enforced segregation in one field after another. This has given the people of local communities the opportunity, and imposed on them the responsibility, for devising their own solutions for race problems within the framework of democratic process. . . .
>
> "The best, and perhaps the only, hope of a sane and wholesome solution to such problems as racial integration is to allow peaceable experimentation of the sort the Wades attempted. To help them attempt it, as the defendant did, is not a crime."

Efficiency expert

This is John H. Alderson, until last week Fire Chief of the city of Los Angeles. He was suspended by the Board of Fire Commissioners for refusing to carry out its order to integrate Negroes in the Fire Dept. Alderson opposed integration on the grounds that it would impair the efficiency of the department.

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Be lenient to this only Christian left,
A solitary last old man, believing!
I know that you have proved him in the wrong,
Him and his antique faith. I know that none
But certain fools believe, these days, in love,
Harmless fools, mostly. And I know that Debs
Offends by being Christian and no fool.
You crucified the first. But Oh, I beg
Unjail this dreamer, let him go his way
To trouble highroads only a decade more,
Breathing an epitaph along the wind.

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NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY AND DANCE. Sat., Dec. 31st, at Chopin Club, 1547 N. Leavitt St. Begins at 8:30 p.m. and will last into wee hours of New Year's Day.

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JEROME DAVIS, international observer, peace advocate, author "Capitalism and Its Culture," "Peace, War and You," arrives on S.S. President Wilson from Japan via Hong Kong, Manila, Honolulu, to speak Fri., Jan. 6, 8 p.m., on "REPORT FROM THE RIM OF ASIA." Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 I. P. P. Presidential candidate, will speak on "PRICE TAG ON PRESENT PROSPERITY—Moving To Meet The Growing Crisis." Sun., Jan. 8, 2:30 p.m. 2936 W. 8th St. Adm. 50c. Sponsor: UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, L. A. CHAPTER.

New York

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FARM ISSUES facing the new Congress, as number of farms shows biggest drop in Census history. Send 10c for Jan. issue. Facts for Farmers, 39 Cortlandt St., New York 7, N. Y.

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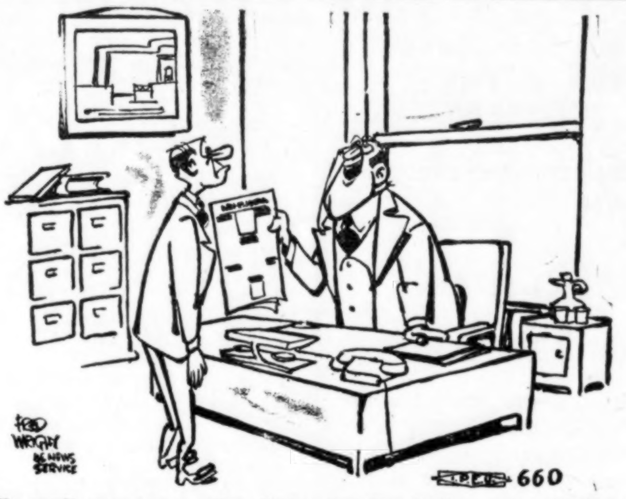

"We can't manage a raise, Jerky, but I'm letting you read the stock tips in my Wall St. Journal."

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Banquet Jan. 21 in New York to honor Kwaks

A BANQUET to honor Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak—and at the same time raise urgently needed funds to stave off their deportation—will be held Sat., Jan. 21, 7 p.m., at New York's Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St.

Early this month an Immigration Service hearing examiner rejected evidence that if deported to South Korea the Kwaks would face torture and death at the hands of the Syngman Rhee regime they have publicly fought. The recommendation for deportation will be taken to the courts.

THE TRAVESTY: Miss Louise Mally, exec. secy. of the Committee for the Defense of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, said of the Immigration Service's action:

"The hearing was a travesty of due process of law. Under the Walter-McCarran Law the hearing examiner is appointed by the Attorney General and serves as judge, prosecutor and jury. . . . The climate created by him was from the very beginning one of intimidation and terror. It is now vital that a real battle be fought in this case to save the Kwaks' lives. I appeal to everyone to support our banquet so that sufficient funds will be made available for the forthcoming legal fight."

Banquet reservations at $5 may be made by communicating with the committee's office at 515 W. 111th St., Suite 3F, New York 25.

New Year Hootenanny

People's Artists will "sing in" the New Year with a hootenanny at The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St., N. Y. C., on New Year's Eve. Folksingers Leon Bibb, Betty Sanders, Juanita Cascone and others will participate, with Herman Autrey leading an 8-piece dance band. Admission $2.50; reservations available at People's Artists, WA 4-3907.

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HOOTENANNY
and DANCE

What a way to start the New Year! Sing out the old and sing in the new. At People's Artists New Year's Eve Hoot there'll be songs to rock the roost sung by Betty Sanders, Jerry Silverman, Juanita Cascone and many others. Before and after the special midnight show you will dance to the music of Herman Autrey and his orchestra. And for your added enjoyment, the Pythian bar will be open throughout the evening. So come on down and have a load of fun singing and dancing at a really great New Year's Eve affair. Get your tickets now from local bookshops or People's Artists, 124 West 21st St., WA 9-3907. Mail and phone orders accepted.

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SAT., DEC. 31—9 p.m.
THE PYTHIAN
135 West 70th Street

•

Admission $2.50 (incl. tax)

PREMIERE SAT., DEC. 24
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Story of Russia today.
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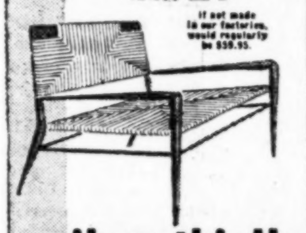

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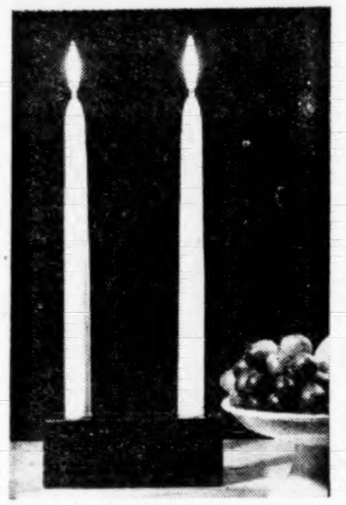
Decorate your table with

EVER-LAST CANDLES



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Lotion Shampoo

Guardian Angel Lotion Shampoo

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14 Gilels	Prokofieff Sonata No. 2, Glazounov Sonata No. 2 and Tchaikovsky 3 Pieces, Op. 19.

EACH $3.95 ppd.

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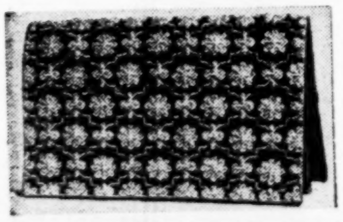

Beautiful Sari handmade evening bags of black velveteen with lovely gold tinsel embroidery in stylized floral pattern. This generous sized 8" x 5" bag adds a nice note of glitter and glamor to evening dress.

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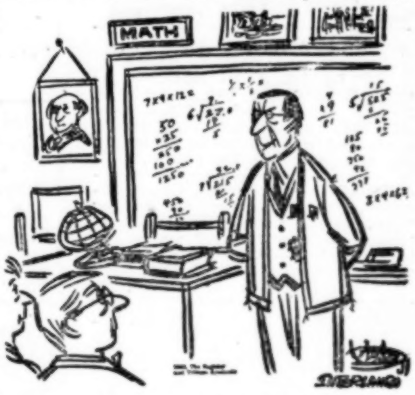
the SPECTATOR

Looking a gift-horse in the motor

THE GROWING CUSTOM in the United States of allowing the functions of the state to be carried out by rich men and not by will of the mass of people in democratic ways, is wrong in principle and a sign of the yielding of popular government to the rule of wealth. This is illustrated by the Carnegie establishment of public libraries, the Rockefeller gifts to education and to the United Nations, and just now the rescue of hospitals and of college teaching by Henry Ford II.

This belief does not attack the character and intentions of the Ford family. Our millionaires of the 19th century were too often men who got their wealth by cheating, force and violence. Today our rich men obey the letter of the law. But this is chiefly because the rich wield so great influence today in making the law and enforcing it. They believe in their mission as dictators over a so-called democracy. Ford realizes the needs of our teachers; he has hired experts and their recommendations are on the whole excellent. But this same expert advice can be at the service of any honest government which attracts to its service honest men and not professional liars and "yes-men."



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"We have just one problem for homework today. 'A teacher earns $3,000 a year before taxes. With the high cost of living today his monthly expenses are $280. How does he manage to live?' You may enlist the aid of your parents for the solution."

BUT BEYOND THIS: the half billion dollars which Ford gave to education should never have been lodged in his ownership. This is the considered opinion of a rapidly increasing portion of the civilized world. Nothing on this scale could have happened in Britain, France, nor Scandinavia, nor of course in Eastern Europe nor China nor India. And this is not mainly because of poverty nor because of conspiracy nor crime; but because Socialism, which almost every modern scholar advocates to some extent, declares that this sum of $500,000,000 was a social product and in no sense the result of the sole effort of either the Henry Fords. The Fords worked long and hard; they planned and sacrificed. They deserve pay for their work. Henry Ford II should have all he wants to eat; and all the clothes he can wear; he should have a good—even a luxurious—home; and he should never need worry over neglect in old age or sickness, or over the best preparation of his children for a good and productive life. But to more than this, Henry Ford has no right. Least of all has he any right to dictate the salaries and policy of the higher institutions of the U. S. or to name those who shall dictate. That is a government function to be carried out in accord with the democratically expressed will of the people. If this is not or cannot be done, democracy disappears.

More than that: with all credit which may justly be granted the Fords for the evolution of mass transportation in the world, all, even most of the credit, is not theirs. With them worked and sacrificed thousands of persons: thinkers, planners and technicians, financiers, skilled artisans and common laborers. Outside their mills were men who made roads and governments which paid for them; legislators and administrators who arranged and guided traffic. Among all these and others, this half billion of dollars should be shared.

IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are going to surrender these rights and allow part or most of the results of industry to go to private profit when it belongs to public co-operation, more than to anything else or to anybody else, then we must give up, as we are giving up, our democratic heritage, to dictatorship in the hands of the rich. The rich will dominate our education; they will run our government; they will screen the truth as they see it and our land will be dotted with their principalities, whence they will try to rule the world. Gradually the big rich will swallow the well-to-do and through corporations which act above the law, big business will assume increasingly the functions of government, except government by big business will have no democratic control. Then some wise people will realize that all the government will have to do is to take over big business to achieve socialism.

Meantime all discussion and study of socialism is being eliminated in the U. S. Because socialism is being pursued in the Soviet Union by the methods of communism and because some Americans are convinced that "communism" is a crime, we have come to oppose socialism because we do not approve of the methods by which one great nation is approaching the socialistic ideal. For us there may be other ways of approach, but approach socialism we must, as all of the world's greatest thinkers agree. We set ourselves outside civilization when, without study in school, in literature, we stop the knowledge of a philosophy which is sweeping the world. Yet our leaders deem socialism a "dirty word," professors of the social sciences dare not discuss it, and socialist leaders spend more time attacking socialist states than in attacking capitalism.

What price democracy in America? **W. E. B. Du Bois**